Contested Discourses on Migrant Connectivity:

Migrant Users and Corporations of Mobile Phone and Money Transfer Services in Catalonia.

An interdisciplinary approach.

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To my trans/national family,
Leticia, Gerardo, Silvana and Seba

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In every society the production of discourse
is at once controlled, selected, organised
and redistributed by a certain number of procedures
whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers,
to gain mastery over its chance events,
to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality.
Michael Foucault (1981, p.210)

By looking at how ICT are constructed,
accepted, adopted or adapted in migration contexts,
we are putting forward a new "lens"
for analysing migration in the information society.
Adela Ros, Elisabet González, Antoni Marín and Pap Sow (2007, p.33)

1. Introduction. Problematizing Migrant Connectivity

Communication by media is organized communication and is controlled by economic and governmental institutions: advertising agencies, Telecom enterprises, software and media producers, and regulatory institutions are participating with you when you phone a friend or watch the news
Krotz (2008, p.27)

When we walk along some streets in migrant populated cities, we might come across commercial billboards and posters which "speak" *to* and *about* migrants and migration in very particular ways: "Can I send them happiness?", "Send more, pay less", "The best gift for your loved ones is to talk more", "Hear `how are you, darling´ anytime you want", "More economic international calls (…) 24 hours from your mobile phone!" These are some of the examples we can read next to photos of ethnic characters, national cues and different tariffs to call or send money abroad. *Locutorios*[1] in Los Angeles, London, Dubai or Barcelona constitute good examples, with their shop windows, computer and telephone booths wallpapered by images and texts that follow the rules of advertising. They are signed by global corporations offering services that promote imagery of high connectivity and cross border belongings through instant communication and real time money transfers. Such images are revealing of contemporary migratory processes and differ greatly from the negative portrayals migrants[2] have usually had in various public discourses, like mass media and parliamentary debates.

Private actors have quickly identified a business opportunity in migrants' cross border belongings, putting to the fore an ancient but pervasive behaviour that both the academy and governments have long ignored in their approaches to migration. Some governments in origin societies have tended to capture remittances as a direct source of

[1] In Spain, the word "locutorio" refers to "special private venture[s] run *by* and *for* migrants which sells access to transnational communication for public use (basically, telephony and Internet services)" (Sabaté, 2010, p.24). I chose to keep the Spanish word in order to acknowledge its singularity to the local context, differing from other spaces like Latin American telecentros (governmental initiatives for Internet access) or French Internet cafes (shops which also serve coffee).

[2] I use the nouns and adjectives "migrant" and "immigrant" interchangeably.

national financial liquidity, while governments in arrival societies have historically assumed that migrants should leave behind their bonds with their origin in order to "fully integrate", be "assimilated by" or "incorporated into" the new society. In parallel, much of previous scholarly work has analyzed migration as an isolated, homogeneous phenomenon in which actors abandon multiple relationships that span across national borders. Fortunately, interdisciplinary and transnational perspectives have solved much of the myopia in academia. Unfortunately, there is still a long way to go in the realm of public debates and policies towards migration.

In this context, the current research intends to contribute theoretically, epistemologically and methodologically to a more nuanced and critical understanding of migrant connectivity. Theoretically, it echoes two important academic debates: transnationalism and universal connectivity. Firstly, one of the key contributions of the transnational paradigm has evidenced how most migrants have lived in a here-there continuum between origin and destination societies, highlighting how migrants have historically managed several spheres of lives simultaneously in origin and destination societies, be it family relationships, commercial ties, political activism, religious belongings and other cross border engagements. The all-encompassing nature of the transnational concept, however, might endanger the understanding of particular aspects of the phenomenon. Thus, I aim to develop an in-depth analysis of one particular dimension that I have conceptualized as "migrant trans/national connectivity".

Secondly, connectivity is enmeshed in multilevel power hierarchies that affect people's opportunities for social inclusion as well as personal relationships. It is a broad concept, mainly rooted in computer science's descriptions of how technical devices "establish contact with a network" (Ince, 2012). However, I focus on its social side, concerned with "the mechanisms which facilitate communication between people regardless of where they are, and acts as an element of social change which affects society as a whole" (Ros, González, Marín, & Sow, 2007, p.7). By migrant connectivity I mean the dynamics that people on the move experience and create in order to keep in touch with beloved ones in origin and destination societies −the so-called transnational family− as well as with other people related to their personal and social networks (e.g. neighbours,

employers, etc.). Although migrant connectivity has been a common practice between people of different origins, destinations and historical periods, recent developments in travel and communication technologies have intensified, sped up and made such practices cheaper, more accessible, and thus more visible. While letters, ship trips and delayed remittances were typical modalities of connectivity in the 19th and mid-20th centuries, they have been increasingly replaced, first by cassettes, then phone calls and, more recently, emails, flights and almost instant money transfers to and from far away locations.

The ensemble of devices, technologies, services and providers of connectivity constitute "the material basis of globalisation" (Castles, 2002, p.1158) and the necessary resources to carry on what Guarnizo (2003) has called "transnational living: a wide panoply of social, cultural, political, and economic cross-border relations that emerge, both wittingly and unwittingly, from migrants' drive to maintain and reproduce their social milieu of origin from afar" (2003, p.666). However, there is also a local dimension in migrant connectivity that occurs in the development of personal and social networks within the same physical locations, at different scales: neighbourhoods, villages, cities, regions and countries. The slash in the "trans/national" aims to acknowledge this multiplicity of locations, both across and within national borders,[3] in which migrant connectivity manifests itself.

Taking all these elements into account, I propose to define the migrant trans/national connectivity approach according to three main areas of interest:

- **Interpersonal communication and the redistribution of economic and socio-cultural resources** within households and social groups on the move, which are the main motivations to build connectivity, operating to maintain and nourish social bonds and ties with family members and others

- **Technological mediation**, necessary for people's maintenance of bonds at a distance, particularly pervasive in migrant contexts where personal and social contacts might be scattered in different geopolitical locations. When communication and redistributive practices are necessarily mediated, new challenges arise in terms of access to and appropriation of the needed devices of mediation at the right time.

[3] For a more detailed account on the conceptualization of the trans/national, please see Section 2.1.

- **The role of private actors** as the suppliers of technological devices and services is crucial in order to understand migrant connectivity, since they shape connectivity through special offers and politics of pricing and, at the same time, they are being shaped by people's practices of appropriation.

Epistemologically and methodologically, there might be different and numerous ways to explain migrant connectivity. As suggested in the title of the dissertation, the discursive dimension has a special place in the current research. What is of particular interest to me is the contested nature of discourses, that is, how they are traversed by power relations which become visible in different mental models and ideologies that mediate between discourse and society (van Dijk, 1989, 1993, 1997, 2009 and elsewhere). In this sense, discourses are a set of texts, institutions and practices that in particular contexts are both constitutive and constituent of social reality, including social change. In British linguist Norman Fairclough's words, "Discourse is a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning" (1992, p.64). Hence, if we want to understand social processes, discourses are a good empirical location to start. In particular, discourses "highlight the complex relations between *meanings* and *practices* (...) the constitutive role of *semiosis* and the emergent *extra-semiotic* features of social relations and their conjoint impact on capacities for action and transformation", (Jessop, 2004, p.160, *emphasis added*).

Thus, I will focus on two bodies of corporate discourses about migrant connectivity: one related to "communicative connectivity" (Hepp, 2005), with emphasis on mobile phones (henceforth MP), and another related to economic connectivity, through money transfers (henceforth MT). Both MP and MT −and their respectively associated practices, international calls and remittances− constitute two enlightening expressions of the migration connectivity approach that I propose for at least four reasons: 1) both services have high levels of penetration in migrants' everyday lives, providing revealing indicators of migrants' transnational livings, 2) for that same reason, they are promoted by private actors through numerous commercial discourses that target migrants and constitute rich sites for analysing contemporary international migration, 3) they represent articulated but different

services not exclusively linked to media, constituting an opportunity to overcome so called media-centric analysis, and 4) these cases constitute a relevant area to apply a "dual perspective" (Vertovec, 2009, p.53) that considers the tensions, contradictions and coincidences between people's lives and the structural opportunities and constraints in which they are embedded.

Firstly, from an everyday life perspective, MP and MT have become key resources for migrants to maintain transnational relationships, strengthening kinship and offering the possibility of (virtual) presence despite (physical) distance.[4] I consider the practices enhanced by mobile phones and remittances as part of a contemporary "migratory culture" in the sense defined by Argentinean geographer Claudia Pedone: "As time passes by and migratory flows consolidate, some strategies become part of migrants' social resources, accumulation of knowledge, strategies and economic resources called `migratory culture´" (Pedone, 2005, pp.112-113). MP penetration rates at both origin and destination societies suggest the increasing importance of this technology in migrants' and non-migrants' lives alike, as we can see in Figure 1.1.

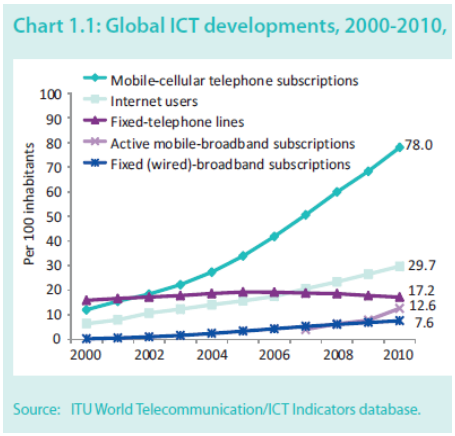


Figure 1.1. Evolution of global ICT developments, 2000-2010. Source: ITU, 2011.

[4] I make this distinction to acknowledge the tensions involved in experiences of distant relationships, while not intending to reinforce the false dichotomy between online and offline spaces. On the contrary, new media "supplements, arranges and amplifies in-person and telephone communications rather than replacing them" (Wellman, 2001, p.242).

Moreover, the rise of international calls traffic between sending and receiving countries constitute another illustrative example of "transnationalism via telecommunication" (Vertovec, 2009, p.56) that has taken place first through cheap prepaid cards, then landline phones and now MP, in "layers of technology" (Wilding, 2006, p.131) that complement each other. Similarly, the volumes of MT worldwide labelled as migrant workers' remittances constitute impressive quantities when considered altogether annually. From EU-27, "annual financial transfers of migrants reach about €30 billion to countries outside EU-27, and almost €8 billion within EU-27. These figures do not take into account transfers made informally, which are difficult to measure" (European Commission, 2012). Remittances have turned into a macroeconomic phenomenon that exceeds many countries' received international aid and percentages of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The latest data provided by the World Bank estimated that "officially recorded remittance flows to developing countries are estimated to have reached $372 billion in 2011, an increase of 12.1 per cent over 2010 (…) Remittance flows have been stable during the crisis relative to other resource flows" (World Bank, 2011). Figure 1.2 below compares four financial resources in which remittances appear not only as the most stable one across time but also as having a projection of growth in the near future.

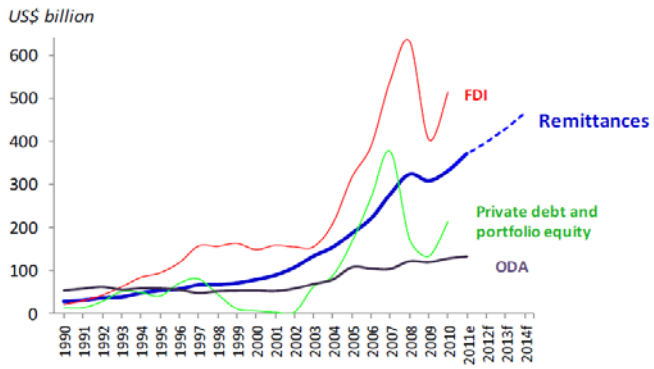


Figure 1.2: Remittances and other resource flows[5] to developing countries, 1990-2014.
Source: World Bank (2011).

[5] The two other values in the graph are Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), defined as "the acquisition by residents of a country of real assets abroad" (OR, 2013a) and Official Development Assistance (ODA), a "funding that is provided by the government of a developed country to the governments of developing countries, to pay for particular community, health, and commercial projects" (OR, 2013b).

The high penetration of MP globally and the intense and continuous flows of money from migrants' destinations to their origin countries have made them a lucrative market niche for the companies that provide these services. In this sense, I locate them as part of a contemporary "migration industry" (Castles & Miller, 2003, p.28) which greatly profits from the movement of people worldwide. According to a report commissioned by the Migration and Network Society program[6] in 2007, the financial and the telecommunication sectors were the two most consolidated ones in delivering services to immigrant populations in Spain (Techforce, 2007). This leads us to the second reason for considering them in the study of migrant connectivity: the abundance of corporate discourses that target migrants in highly segmented, dynamic and competing markets, producing a rich visual landscape of representations of migration in Western societies. I argue it is worth analyzing the discursive dimensions of these commercial representations, as it is important to understand how hegemonic narratives on both migration and technology operate and build worldviews spanning other areas of knowledge.

A third reason to focus on MP and MT is theoretical, for it transcends various drawbacks of previous research on media and migration, mainly media-centrism (Hepp, 2010). Media-centrism typically manifests in contemporary mediatized societies and can be defined as researchers' bias to frame their analysis taking media as the starting –and ending – point, thus explaining social phenomena in quite reductive ways. Another manifestation of media-centrism is the focus on one single media that is usually analyzed in isolation, instead of looking at its articulations with wider media environments and their relation with other communication devices. Although the current thesis focuses on MP, it contextualizes its uses in relation to other technological devices, services and points of access that people draw on in their daily lives, such as computers, landline telephones, internet connections and *locutorios*. Moreover, the research work transcends media-centrism by including MT as a connectivity practice and service that stands beyond communication, although it strongly complements it.

[6] The Migration and Network Society program is part of the Internet Interdisciplinary Institute, Open University of Catalonia. It is based in Barcelona and coordinated by Dr. Adela Ros.

Fourthly, the current cases of migrant connectivity illustrate two differing but converging realities about globalization: individual migrants' experiences as users of connectivity services and corporations' strategies as providers.[7] This double perspective proves relevant for studies on migrants' interconnections[8] that analyze the dynamics of transnational personal and social networks and the media practices involved. However, not much work has focused thoroughly on service providers, that is, on private actors and their commercial strategies, or on how these shape as well as are shaped by end-users. The richness of this project lays in the ambition to understand the close encounters between two disparate agents of globalization –corporations and migrants– analyzing their conflicting and converging rationales with regard to connectivity. This echoes long-standing concerns within the social sciences and the humanities regarding the tensions between agency –or the individual capacity to adapt to diverse contextual situations according to each person's interests and possibilities– and structure –diverse contextual situations shaped by institutional arrangements that frame social organization. This approach hopes not to be exhausted by irreconcilable debates, but to contribute to complex understandings of the forces at stake in the processes under study.

The dual perspective and in particular the special attention I pay to private actors, allows me to scrutinize how connectivity is enmeshed in multilevel power hierarchies and to argue that it needs to be conceptually problematized insofar as it has become a master narrative of our times. In fact, it is overloaded semantically and ideologically with positivity about its universal reach, echoing much of the techno-deterministic optimism so rampant in the late 1990s. More than 15 years later, at the time of writing this dissertation, the most recent example of such techno-determinism[9] aftertaste might be *The Global information*

[7] Corporations are "collective bodies carrying out economic activities, able to sue and liable to be sued, and to pay taxes, as an entity distinct from the individuals running or employed by it". They can be public –"a state-owned body" (Black, Hashimzade, & Myles, 2009)– or private, as in the case of many companies.

[8] I use the words connectivity and interconnection interchangeably.

[9] The techno-determinist paradigm has impregnated most of the history of technological innovations, based on the idea that they drive social change. It has been "a prominent theme in accounts of modernity and social progress" (Lievrouw, 2002, p.185) and proved to be problematic as it detached ICT from a "social landscape, which precedes, shapes, contextualizes and continues after any specific technological innovation" (Livingstone, 2002, p.17).

technology report 2012. Living in a hyperconnected world, elaborated for the World Economic Forum celebrated in Mexico in April 2012. The report states:

> Over the past decade, the world has become increasingly hyperconnected (…) The exponential growth of mobile devices, big data, and social media are all drivers of this process of hyperconnectivity. Consequently, we are beginning to see fundamental transformations in society. Hyperconnectivity is redefining relationships between individuals, consumers and enterprises, and citizens and the state. It is introducing new opportunities to increase productivity and well-being by redefining the way business is done, generating new products and services, and improving the way public services are delivered. However, hyperconnectivity can also bring about new challenges and risks in terms of security, cybercrime, privacy, the flow of personal data, individual rights, and access to information (Dutta & Bilbao-Osorio, 2012, p. xi).

The assertion that everything and everybody is hyperconnected has become a tautological description of contemporary societies, a mantra that has proved useless to explain the everyday lives of millions of people at the bottom line of the map of connectivity. Their connectivity should not be "supersized" with the "hyper" prefix or taken for granted; it is highly stratified and the result of complex articulations of available resources, acquired knowledges and embodied practices. This is especially visible when analyzing connectivity in so-called less advantageous groups, including those in migrant contexts.

Recent fieldwork with regional migrants in China, for example, inspired conceptualizations such as "the information have-less" (Cartier, Castells, & Qiu, 2005) and "the working-class network society" (Qiu, 2009) that take class stratification in combination with the variable origin as an explanatory framing regarding users' practices of connectivity. Indeed, while migrants tend to heavily draw on technologies and invest in connectivity to carry on their trans/national lives, they usually do so within a complex web of economic and emotional costs and opportunities, marked by distance as well as by the commercial strategies boosted by providers that specialize in low-end connectivity services offered to price sensitive customers. Moreover, in the matrix of inequalities marked by class and origin, I will add other key variables, namely gender and ethnicity.

In order to tackle this challenging and multi-layered research topic, the current work focuses on Spain and, in particular, on one of its 17 autonomous communities, Catalonia. These constitute interesting settings for investigating the intersections of information and communication technologies (ICT) and migration, after two important processes converged at the turn of the century, as highlighted by Ros and Boso (Fundación Orange, 2010): firstly, widespread ICT use, especially the MP; secondly, the intensification of international immigrant flows that have settled in the country since the 70s, radically changing its demographic landscape. I will especially look at two of the most numerous non-European groups currently living in Spain and in Catalonia, Ecuadorians and Moroccans. Both share a colonial past with Spain but constitute quite different experiences of migration, namely Moroccan migrant flows have been further in time, closer in space and traditionally more masculinized than Ecuadorian ones.

The research will offer interviewed people's accounts on their experiences with MP and MT use and, at the same time, it will map the main characteristics of service providers with focus on two paradigmatic companies: Western Union (WU), because it is the biggest MT agency in Spain and worldwide, and Lebara, because it is one of the most popular virtual operators that provides international MP services in Europe. Both multinational corporations share a strong orientation towards migrants as their main commercial target and they are very active in the Spanish market, adapting their global strategies to this context accordingly, including a strong urban presence through outdoor advertising campaigns and in paradigmatic points of sale such as *locutorios.*

1.1. Research Objectives, Questions and Analytic Model

Paraphrasing the "six Ws" of journalism cultures, I situate my migrant connectivity approach in a scheme of general and specific characteristics, as shown in Table 1.1 below.

Table 1.1. The "six Ws" of migrant connectivity.

	General	Specific
WHAT?	Keep in touch despite/at a distance in origin and destination	
WHY?	Family and social networks	
HOW?	ICT and travelling supplied by private actors.	MP and MT as paradigmatic examples
HOW MUCH?	Costs and affordances	
WHO?		Ecuadorian and Moroccan migrants / Lebara (MP) and Western Union (WU)
WHERE?		Spain, Catalonia
WHEN?		Contemporary times (2000-2012)

Source: Own elaboration.

In this line of thinking, I want to focus my attention on the following research aims:

1. To identify how companies of MP and MT services, as part of a contemporary migration industry, discursively construct migrants in relation to connectivity, analyzing whether they provide a new imagery of migration in the context of the network society.

2. To understand migrants' patterns of trans/national connectivity and their perceptions on the commercial representations of these services.

The main question that has guided the research process is *How is migrants' trans/national connectivity constructed and contested in migrants' and corporate discourses in Catalonia?* The answer involves considering very different but intertwined dimensions of migration as experienced by two disparate agents of globalization that operate in the context of multilevel regulatory policies.[10] On the one hand, the answer requires a macroscopic approach to understand the "cultural political economy" (Jessop, 2004) of the aforementioned services, that is, how corporate meanings and practices intertwine. On the other hand, we need a microscopic approach to grasp how migrants themselves give

[10] In Catalonia, regulations concerned with population movements follow the Spanish national legislation, which in turn conforms to European directives, but it also presents specificities of the regional autonomous government. By contrast, market regulations follow European and national legal frameworks.

meaning and live through the practices represented by corporate discourses. This leads to the following specific objectives and sub-questions:

1. To map the commercial representation of migrants (as individuals) and migration (as a process) by MP and MT corporations operating in Spain

1.a) How do MP and MT corporations represent migrants across the lines of gender, age, ethnicity, class and nationality?

1.b) What is the role given to technology as part of migratory contexts in corporate discourses of MP and MT?

1.c) Do MP and MT corporations provide a new imagery on migration in the context of hegemonic discourses produced by national and regional political regimes and mass media? If so, what is its potential?

2. To explain migrants' everyday experiences of connectivity with MP and MT in the context of their migratory projects in Catalonia

2.a) What are migrants' accounts of their practices of connectivity with MP and MT?

2.b) How are their experiences differently marked according to gender, age, ethnicity, class and nationality?

2.c) What are their interpretations of corporate discourses, in particular advertising?

The general working hypothesis behind these questions is that migrant connectivity is a contested discursive space articulated by the interaction of two processes: corporations' commodification of migrant experiences and migrant users' appropriation strategies of services they need in daily life. The following specific hypotheses reflect the main assumptions of each process:

H1) Corporations of MP and MT commodify migrants' experiences of connectivity through discourses that provide innovative representations of contemporary migration but also perpetuate technological, gender, class and ethnic stereotypes.

H2) Migrants patterns of connectivity with MP and MT are embedded in a complex web of material and emotional constraints as well as opportunities that escape corporate imagery.

The research aims, questions and hypotheses can be better visualized in Figure 1.3, which offers a graphic outline of the analytic model.

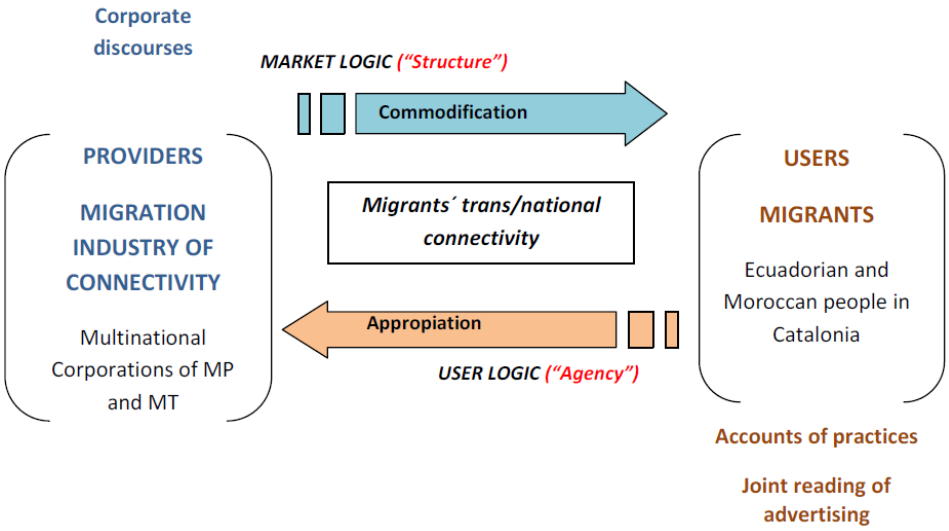


Figure 1.3. Analytic model. Source: own elaboration.

Migrants' trans/national connectivity stands at the centre of the model, framed by the main actors (providers and users) and processes (commodification and appropriation) I will focus on. The model aims to summarize a double and contested process at stake. On the one hand, there are private enterprises that provide connectivity services customized for migrants. They are part of a conglomerate of different commercial initiatives set up globally to offer a wide variety of services during the migratory processes, which have been called "the migration industry" (Castles & Miller, 2003, p.28). I will conceptualize them as the migration industry of connectivity services (henceforth MICS) and I will argue they have turned migrant connectivity into a commodity, assigning it exchange value in the context of market societies. As we will see, this process of commodification has a central role in shaping migrants' practices, at both symbolic (e.g. imageries) and material levels (e.g. costs of access). I will argue that these commercial genres have translated migrants' experiences of connectivity into commodity-signs (Baudrillard, 1981), that is, into the symbolic representation of particular products and brands that detach experiences from real contexts.

On the other hand, however, commodification is not a unidirectional process: accordingly, the analytic model acknowledges migrants' ability to appropriate connectivity

services, adapting −and eventually, changing− providers' offers to their own needs, overcoming constraints and turning them into opportunities. Each process needs to be understood in the context of differing logics that imply two different units of analysis, as defined by actors' availability of resources and power structures: top-down corporate discourses and bottom-up migrants' accounts. The former includes written and visual texts created by corporate experts in order to sell their services to migrant people (advertising) and to consolidate their brands (press releases and mission statements), as well as first-hand companies spokespersons' accounts. The latter constitutes individuals' accounts on their practices with MP and MT and their readings of advertising. Each component of the analytic model needs further definition and operationalization, which I will provide throughout the different chapters. Next section provides an overview of the whole content of the dissertation, its organization and structure.

1.2. A Navigation Chart to Read this Dissertation

The thesis is structured in nine chapters covering different thematic blocks. After introducing the research topic and the questions in this first chapter, I dedicate Chapter 2 to build the theoretical framework. I conceived it as an assemblage of knowledge produced across various disciplines −mainly digital media studies and migration studies−, research subfields −mobile communication, transnational families communication− and transversal feminist approaches to migration theory and critical development studies. It discusses the literature I have found useful to frame my own work, according to theoretical paradigms that define contemporary societies as being global, networked and market-oriented. Thus global network societies (Castells, 2000a) are embedded within market societies in which particular values, actors, relations and outcomes prevail, with its own specificities for migratory processes in general, and the Spanish case in particular. I organized the chapter in four thematic lines accordingly: spatiality, mobility, connectivity and markets. Spatiality focuses on globalisation theories in order to conceptualize migrants and connectivity services enterprises as two disparate global actors that, however, converge at various points. It includes a subsection dedicated to explain a new term, the `trans/national', which I propose to use when referring to the complex interrelations between the global and the

local dimensions in discourses on migrant connectivity. The section on mobility offers a historical overview of definitions of migration and touches upon the reconfiguration of family relationships across distance as a main motivation to keep in touch. The section on connectivity summarizes mainstream as well as critical approaches to the so-called information society, based on novel technological resources that offer, among other things, instant communication and the digitalisation of several human processes. The subsections focus on how contemporary migration increasingly affects and is affected by these dynamics, considering previous research on migrants' access, use and appropriation of ICT enhanced connectivity, in particular relating to MP and MT services as paradigmatic cases. Finally, the section on market societies deals with the mechanisms of profit-driven enterprises to target migrants' needs. In this context, I propose a new concept I call "the migration industry of connectivity services".

I dedicate Chapter 3 to summarize the main characteristics of the particular context in which I conducted research, giving basic historical and socio-cultural information on three main dimensions: the migratory one, with specific references to differences and similarities of contemporary Moroccan and Ecuadorian migratory flows to Spain; the technological dimension, which takes into account the basic indicators of the information society in origin and destination societies (ICT infrastructures, digital access and use); and the market dimension, which considers the commercial development of the MP and MT markets in Spain.

In Chapter 4, I develop the epistemological and methodological approach this thesis is based on, which presented various challenges as a consequence of its qualitative and hybrid nature. As a "bricoleur" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p.5), I have constructed a research field by taking into account the main points of interest in the rich landscape of migrant connectivity. I have assembled an interdisciplinary methodology accordingly, which included: a) a multiperspectival data collection, with corporate discourses and migrants' accounts, b) a multisited data collection, in the visual landscape of urban space (outdoor advertising), as well as online (e.g. mission statements) and c) a mixed methods data analysis. This mix combined critical discourse analysis of 18 online texts, socio-semiotic

analysis of 16 advertisements signed by two main companies –Lebara and Western Union– 10 focused interviews with company spokespersons and 30 semi-structured interviews with migrant users. Table 1.2 below provides a schematic overview of these multiple components, organized according to enunciators of the discourses, their genres, sources, modality and the theoretical-methodological approach used in each case.

Table 1.2. Schematic overview of the fieldwork.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">Enunciator</th><th>Genre</th><th>Source</th><th>Corpus</th><th>Modality</th><th>Approach</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Corporations</td><td rowspan="2">various companies</td><td rowspan="2">Services advertising</td><td>ethnic media</td><td rowspan="2">16</td><td rowspan="2">written text and images</td><td rowspan="2">Social semiotics of visual communication, Cultural Studies</td></tr>
<tr><td>cybercafes, metro, bus and train staions</td></tr>
<tr><td>Lebara and Western Union</td><td>Corporate advertising (PR, CSR and MS)</td><td>corporation websites</td><td>18</td><td>written text</td><td>Critical Discourse Studies, Social Actor theory</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Migrants</td><td>various companies</td><td>spokeperson account</td><td>focused interview</td><td>10</td><td>written text (transcription)</td><td rowspan="2">Cultural Studies</td></tr>
<tr><td>Moroccans and Ecuadorians</td><td>testimony</td><td>in-depth interview</td><td>30</td><td>written text (transcription)</td></tr>
</table>

Source: own elaboration

The methodological chapter starts arguing in favour of the combination Cultural Studies (CS) and Critical Discourse Studies (CDS[11]) as fields of knowledge engaged in interdisciplinary, critical and multiperspectival research. Although they constitute heterogeneous projects within the humanities and the social sciences, they share basic epistemological stances towards social constructivism and the active role of language in the constitution of social realities. In this sense, reality is understood as a complex, socially produced entity that can be only partially grasped, mainly through the analysis of language and discourses as ways through which we construct and make sense of the world. In this view, language is not a transparent medium that mirrors reality, but the result of a complex cultural work that reproduces some ideas by occluding other ones. This will depend on

[11] Critical Discourse Studies is more accurate than the more widespread expression "Critical Discourse Analysis" if we understand, together with Teun van Dijk, that it is not only an analytical tool but a theoretical framework and its applications: "CDS is not a method, but rather a critical *perspective, position* or *attitude* within the discipline of multidisciplinary Discourse Studies" (van Dijk, 2009a, p.62).

different people's positionality within intersectional power structures, from the classic gender-class-ethnicity triad at the individual level, to the effects of institutional settings in which knowledge is produced, such as governments, social movements, the academia, business enterprises, to mention a few. In both CS and CDS, the notion of discourse, though differently defined, is central to understand how texts circulate, change and interact with people's daily experiences in specific socio-political contexts. Discourses and texts are sometimes used interchangeably, but in CDS, they need to be differentiated: "Discourse implies patterns and commonalities of knowledge and structures whereas a text is a specific and unique realization of a discourse" (Wodak, 2008, p.6). Texts are part of discourses or "communicative events" (van Dijk, 2003, p.146), and they can be written, visual, sound or in other modalities, alone or in combination. After defining their main characteristics, I offer two different templates for the analysis of written and visual texts respectively. Before delving into the empirical analysis in the next chapters, I dedicate the last section of Chapter 4 to explain the process of data collection and selection, as well as to reflect on the ethical and political issues that emerged during my personal approach to informants during the fieldwork.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 present the results of the empirical analysis of corporate discourses, which evidence the ongoing process of commodification of migrant connectivity. Chapter 5 focuses on the critical discourse analysis of online corporate advertising taken from corporations' websites, including press releases (PR), mission statements (MS) and corporation social responsibility statements (CSR). Chapter 6 presents the socio-semiotic analysis of visual commercial representations of migrants in outdoor ads, highlighting similarities and differences between services as well as particular messages encoded behind glossy images and catchy slogans. Chapter 7 summarizes the main findings of the analysis of the interviews I held with company spokespersons about their definition of migrants as customers of connectivity services. This extra-semiotic dimension of the commodification of migrant connectivity is complemented and contrasted in Chapter 8, dedicated to migrant users' accounts on their practices of connectivity through MP and MT, as well as their perceptions on the way these are represented in advertising.

Finally, Chapter 9 systematizes the results of the empirical work and articulates them with the theoretical framework reviewed in the previous chapters. It analyzes the levels of convergence and dissent between corporations' and migrants' discourses on connectivity, and argues why this should be understood as a contested discursive terrain.

2. A Theoretical Framework of Migrant Connectivity: Global, Network and Market Societies.

Globalization, defined as a proliferation of cross-border flows and transnational networks, has changed the context for migration.
Castles (2002)

In a world more interconnected than ever before, the number of people with the means and motivation to migrate will only increase.
Goldin, Cameron, & Balarajan (2011)

The general context this research takes place is one of deep transformations in which some epochal changes might be at work, as it has been differently emphasized in expressions such as "the global age" (Albrow, 1997), "the age of migration" (Castles & Miller, 2003) and "the information age" (Castells, 2000b). Although I am aware that the description of social phenomena in terms of epochal changes presents its shortcomings,[12] I take this differentiation as structuring devices that help me tackle three intertwined concepts that underlie my own work, namely *spatiality*, *mobility* and *connectivity*.

2.1. Spatiality: Globalization from Above and From Below

If taken for granted, globalization is just another buzzword, but if we track its genealogy and acknowledge its flaws and potentials, it is still a useful concept to frame contemporary process, including the dynamics of connectivity of people on the move. The mutual constitution of globalization and migration has been extensively discussed in scholarly work, especially the implications that the reconfiguration of nation-states have had for the categorization of migration, its patterns and routes (Castles & Miller, 2003; Held et al., 1999; Hollifield, 2004; Massey et al., 1998; Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002). Globalization is a historic process that has affected the way the *spatiality* of the world is experienced. While it has have fluctuating intensities and names throughout different

[12] For instance, epochal changes might render invisible the national framings that have biased much of the analysis in the Social Sciences (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002, p.314 and 322). Moreover, they tend to be described form the hegemonic location of the so called First World, ignoring peripherical experiences, such as alternative modernities (Canclini, 2005; Ong, 2004).

historical periods −e.g. colonization− since the second half of the XX century, it has accelerated through advances in technological enhanced *connectivity* and unprecedented patterns and volumes of people's *mobility.*

There are different stages that encompass globalization studies, from a first wave characterized for being economically focused, technologically deterministic, conceptually polarized[13] and dismissive of the role of nation states, to a second wave "that addresses some of the misconceptions of the first few years" (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002, p.322). Early mainstreaming conceptualizations of globalization would focus only on economic issues: the unrestricted circulation of financial and material resources around the globe.[14] In its economically deterministic approach, this literature has overlooked other key areas of human experience in which globalization manifests itself, such as political, socio-cultural and technological ones, resulting most of the times in simplified and causal explanations. These critiques have been especially strong on behalf of cultural analysts of globalization who have emphasized the distinctiveness of contemporary globalization for its implications for people's everyday life (Appadurai, 1996; Giddens, 2003; Ong, 2004; Tomlinson, 1999). An important effort to systematize the multidimensional character of globalization and to contextualize it socio-historically was Held et al.'s (1999). In their five hundred pages account of "global transformations", they analyzed how core institutions in society –from nation states, organized violence, trade, markets and finance, corporate power, migrants, mass media, and the environment- have affected and been affected by globalization.

> The authors defined globalization as "a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the *spatial* organization of social relations and transactions –assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact-generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power" (1999, p.16, *emphasis added*).

[13] Mirroring previous debates on culture, technology and migration, discussions of globalization have been also positioned in a spectrum between utopians and dystopians. Key authors have termed such positions as "sceptics" and "radicals" (Giddens, 2003, pp.7-8), "dreamers", "nightmares" and "scepticals" (Tomlinson, 1999, pp.71-97) and "hyperglobalizers", "sceptics" and "transformationalists" (Held et.al 1999, pp. 3-10).

[14] One of the usually quoted gurus in this regard is Japanese businessman Kenichi Ohmae (Tomlinson, 1999, p.14; Giddens, 2003, p.8).

This condensed definition serves as a starting point to think of the distinct aspects that the globalization approach might bring into the current analysis in at least four key aspects. Firstly, it keeps the centrality of "social relations", ignored by previous accounts of economically deterministic world system analysis. Secondly, it takes power as a constitutive element, leaving room for adopting a critical standpoint. Thirdly, it frames transformations in terms of flows and networks, that is, movements and patterned interactions respectively (Held et al., 1999). Last but not least, it proposes a set of four "`spatio-temporal' dimensions of globalization" (Held et al., 1999, p.16) that suggest ways of understanding change at different historical periods according to extensity, intensity, velocity and impact of global interconnectedness (1999, p.17). This model motivated Ros (2010) to raise new research questions about the dynamics of contemporary migration in the context of highly informationalized societies.

On the one hand, the current research echoes Ros' (2010) proposal of taking interconnection seriously in migration studies and adapting Held et al. (1999)' spatio-temporal dimensions to understand migrant interconnection patterns. On the other hand, it argues that such patterns can be only really understood if considered in the context of capitalist societies in which most of human activities have become mediated and dependent on various private agents of intermediation. Thus part of migrants' interconnection extensity, intensity, velocity and impact depend upon external factors defined by both national and global actors. National actors such as states define regulations and investments in infrastructures, including telecom and finance sectors, as well as the legal status of individuals who might access to these services. Global actors such as transnational corporations define highly differentiated commercial strategies, including prices and offers that might affect the way migrants live interconnection.

I will argue that in the analysis of discourses on migrant trans/national connectivity each spatio-temporal dimension needs to be considered in terms of two different perspectives: migrants' experiences and corporations' commercial discourses. *Extensity* considers the actors –who communicate with whom– and places –where they are located – involved in transnational connectivity and how intersectional variables like age, gender,

class, ethnicity, education and national origin shape different experiences. The resulting "connection space" (Ros, 2010, p.33) can be changed by the availability of mobile technologies and their potential to transcend place dependent communications. At the individual level, we find migrants' personal accounts on their everyday practices of connectivity: who they communicate with, who they send money to and in which destinations. At the corporate discursive level, it is possible to identify predominant representations of specific migrant profiles and practices that serve to support different business models, all of which implies silencing other experiences.

The indicators of *intensity* can be summarized as "regularity and rate" (Ros, 2010, p.33) and the questions turn to "how often" and "how much". This dimension evidences important changes in the patterns of interconnection, both its practices and commercial strategies. For example, when there are specific time periods in which interconnection is especially high and corporations launch special offers, such as national celebrations. Alternatively, it evidences how costs might constrain access and how people manage to overcome those constraints in creative ways. *Velocity* deals with the implications of increasing speed in the interactions, be it instant communication or almost immediate money wires. Migrants can have access to resources and information about distant beloved ones in real time, which might both have positive and negative impacts on the management of relations at a distance. In these contexts, *impact* deals with questions related to feelings of proximity that the mediation of ICT might produce in contexts of distance, including the blurring boundaries of dichotomies such as here/there. At the corporate level, these dimensions are present in the rhetoric narratives of commercial discourses on closeness and 'anytime, anywhere' connectivity, as I will explain in Chapters 5 and 6.

Globalization processes can be tracked down at the macro levels of culture, politics and the economic systems that shape social order, but also at the micro levels of personal lives. As British sociologist Anthony Giddens remembered us: "Globalization is a lively dialectic between individuals and broader communities" (Castells, Giddens, & Touraine, 2002, p.77). It is a process currently enacted in people's quotidian lives, so that "every time we turn on the computer, we use the mobile phone or we listen to the radio, we actively

participate in globalization processes" (Castells et al., 2002, p.77). These everyday processes have been also called "microglobalization" (Knorr Cetina, 2008), defined as "forms of connectivity and coordination that combine global reach with micro structural mechanisms that instantiate self-organizing principles and patterns" (2008, p.65).[15]

As socio-economic actors, migrants and corporations contrast in their rationale –users' and providers'–, their size and impact –micro and macro–, as well as the power locations they occupy –below/above (Portes, 1997) and bottom-up/top-down (Pries, 2001). Despite stark differences, however, they do have some points of convergence, since both aim to minimize risks and maximize resources, "seeking comparative advantage by crossing national borders" (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002, p.3). Many scholars have highlighted the similarities of both actors in terms of their existence across and beyond national borders. German sociologist Ludger Pries (2001) located them within "transnational social spaces", he defined as "dense, stable, pluri-local and institutionalized frameworks composed of material artefacts, the social practices of everyday life, as well as systems of symbolic representation that are structured by and structure human life" (2001, pp.7-8)

Cuban-American sociologist Alejandro Portes (1997) conceptualized transnational communities as forces of globalization from below, highlighting how grassroots' economic enterprises take advantage of the conditions of global capitalism in which corporations expands. Political scientist M.P. Smith and sociologist L.E. Guarnizo contrasted the "transnationalism from above' of corporations and states with the 'transnationalism from below' of international migrants" (Guarnizo & Smith, 1998). What constitutes an insurmountable difference between these disparate actors is the battery of resources they count on as well as the degree of legitimization of their actions. Within the American context, scholar Roger Rouse (1997) worded these differences as follows:

> Capitalists have been forging both transnational corporations that organise a single production process in a multiplicity of national sites and globally-oriented

[15] Austrian sociologist Knorr Cetina defined the concept after analysing the behaviour of financial markets and global terrorism, which dynamics have challenged the sharp separation between the micro and the macro as two contrasting levels of reality.

> communications networks that beam the same programming in the same instant to different audiences around the world. Meanwhile, growing numbers of international migrants have been replicating these arrangements in ghosted and much weaker forms by creating and maintaining transnational social fields that integrate their source areas and their US sites of settlement" (1997, p.4).

The concepts of globalization and transnationalism might be used interchangeably, although there is not a consensus in the literature. They both refer to contemporary modes of social, political and cultural organization in which physical distances have lost the influence they used to have in the past, leading to new ways of living spatial dimensions. For US anthropologist Steven Vertovec (2009), "the scales, spaces and mechanisms of globalization and transnationalism are just too entangled to allow such clear abstractions" (2009, p.3). However, Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2002) disagreed with defining transnationalism either as the same or as a result of globalization: "Rather than a recent offspring of globalization, transnationalism appears as a constant of modern life, hidden from a view that was captured by methodological nationalism" (2002, p.302).

For the purpose of the current research, both terms will be slightly differentiated as follows: while transnationalism involves processes rooted in particular national settings or in the relationships between them, globalization describes processes in which the national rooting is either absent, invisible or unimportant. Moreover, I propose a new term in order to deal specifically with the complexities of migrant connectivity: the trans/national.

The trans/national dimensions of migrant connectivity

The slash in trans/national separates as well as unites geographical dimensions that need to be considered as a continuum in diverse migrants' experiences. Before explaining my own strategic use of the term, I must acknowledge its use in a different context that, however, echoes my own concern when analysing the commercial representations of migrants and ethnic minorities in Western societies. American feminist scholar Caren Kaplan referred to "the commodification of cultural difference" (Kaplan, 1995, p.49) in her analysis of the commercial discourses of the multinational company of natural cosmetics *The Body*

Shop. She concluded that their emphasis on a borderless world concealed a gendered geopolitics of representation that reified the distinction between native peoples and the West.

> In that context, she defined the trans/national as a dominant discourse of the new world order promoted by media and advertising, "mystifying the globalization of capital and celebrating the `national´ character of `authentic´ cultural differences (…) [what] signals a desire for the dissolution of boundaries to facilitate personal freedom and ease of trade even as it articulates national and cultural characteristics as distinct, innate markers of difference" (Kaplan, 1995, p.49).

My appropriation of the term to describe migrant connectivity is differently rooted, as it aims to dialogue with the theoretical debates emerged in the early 1990s with the so called "transnational turn". According to Vertovec (2009), before that period, "most migration research focused upon the ways in which migrants adapted themselves to their place of immigration, rather than upon how they continued to look back to their place of origin" (2009, p.13). This meant that only the activities carried out in the national settings of destination were considered. Then, an inverted process started to take place in what we may call "the transnational fever" that turned all migrants' activities into practices that inevitably occurred beyond national borders. The initial over-enthusiasm was nuanced by critiques from within the field[16] that warned on the helplessness of overloading a concept with multiple meanings. Some scholars proposed alternatives to systematizing its use (Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 1999; Vertovec, 2009) or incorporating it into existing debates, such as Kivisto (2001) who argued that transnationalism should be understood as part of the assimilation process, because "at the moment that transnational immigrants are working to maintain homeland connections, they are also engaged in the process of acculturating to the host society" (2001, p.571). A minimal consensus in these debates has been the fact that transnationalism is not a uniform, single process but can refer to heterogeneous and changing realities. According to Vertovec (2009), "modes or types of transnational contact

[16] See (Waldinger & Fitzgerald, 2004).

and exchange may be selective, ebb and flow depending on a range of conditions, or develop differently through life circles or settlement processes" (2009, p.13).

By rewriting *trans/national* with a slash, I do consider the aforementioned theoretical debates but I also aim to re-signify the term in the context of my own research, with a twofold purpose. Firstly, I want to acknowledge how diverse discursive actors emphasize differently each part of the composed word, that is, the transnational and the national dimensions of migrants' connectivity. Thus as we will see, commercial discourses tend to emphasize transnational practices despite the fact that, in specific migrants' lives, these might acquire very different meanings and relevance. Secondly, the use of the slash helps me to acknowledge that the current research does not qualify as "transnational", in the sense of observing phenomena occurring across different national settings, tracking the object of study in its flow and movement, independently of places and borders.

At first sight, my work might incur "methodological nationalism" (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002) because it is traversed by national categories at several levels. At a macro level, I consider commercial discourses of corporations of connectivity services, which, despite being multinational endeavours, have their activities regulated by the corresponding Spanish legislation. In this sense, they are both territorialized and have territorializing effects. At the micro level, I consider migrants' experiences of connectivity by focusing on two nationally defined origins: Ecuadorians and Moroccans. These are two of the most numerous groups of non-European national origin in Spain, according to the Spanish Statistical Institute (INE, 2011a).

Although this is a national based research, with nationally defined subjects, the conceptual framework in which it is inscribed does not count for methodological nationalism because it does not take for granted its golden rule: that the "nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world" (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002, p.302). On the contrary, my analysis considers Spain as a geopolitical construct product of the modern project of nation-state formations, characterized by the conflation of territory, sovereignty and citizenship, and the complex relationships with the colonies that resulted from imperialist endeavours.

The problematization of the nation-state that this research echoes includes looking at phenomena that has exceeded its efforts to remain the container of social, economic and political processes. Migrant trans/national connectivity involves processes that occur both within national boundaries but also beyond them, in the realm of flows of material and symbolic resources moved by the interactions of global corporations and individual people and households on the move.

2.2. Mobility: The Age of Migration

The expression "the age of migration" was coined by American sociologist Stephen Castles and political scientist Mark Miller in their homonymous groundbreaking book. Their work brought to the forefront the movement of people as part and parcel of human societies throughout history and highlights its growing impact on all spheres of life since the colonial expansion of Europe in the 16th century. Human beings have historically travelled and settled down in differently patterned ways due to trade, military endeavours and labor market changes, or as a consequence of natural disasters (Castles & Miller, 2003; Held et al., 1999; Massey et al., 1998). Despite being differently motivated, this natural trend of human movement across space has recently intensified, as the estimations of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) have shown: "The total number of international migrants has increased over the last 10 years from an estimated 150 million in 2000 to 214 million persons today" (IOM, 2010). Although these appear as surprisingly high numbers, they only constitute a 3.1% of the whole world population (IOM, 2010).

Migration is just one dimension of the so-called "mobility turn"[17] (Urry, 2000a, 2000b; Sheller & Urry, 2006) in the social sciences that have studied various bodies on the move across borders: "asylum seekers, international students, terrorists, members of diasporas, holidaymakers, business people, sports stars, refugees, backpackers, commuters, the early retired, young mobile professionals, prostitutes [and] armed forces" (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p.207). However, while mobility research and migration offer complementary inputs, they also extend far beyond each other (Blunt, 2007).

[17] Also in Cresswell and Hannam et.al., as cited in Blunt (2007).

Migrations have their own specificities; namely they imply "taking up residence for a certain minimum period" (Castles, 2000, p.270) in a place different than where people were born, and they are dependent on the non-objective and changing criteria defined by state policies. Throughout the different stages in their formation, nation-states have defined different categories of migration with varying hierarchical orders, depending on national borders (internal, international), legal status (documented, undocumented), political rights (refugees, asylum seekers, diasporas, return migrants), labor profile (low and high skilled), among others (Castles, 2000, p.270).

The crisis brought about by the World Wars (WW) implied great changes for both the conceptualization of migration and the patterns of migration flows. In the pre-war era, characterized by the simultaneity "of nation-state building and intensive globalization" (Wimmer & Glick Schiller 2002:312), no papers were needed to cross borders and there was real free movement of people, especially motivated by the demands of the labor market. However, after WWI migration became an issue of national security and several mechanisms were put into work in order to `protect' territories and sovereignty above all. Consequently, people were classified into nationals of a territory or foreigners to it, and different rights and obligations were ascribed to each group, which resulted in the emergence of "our contemporary concept of immigration" (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002, p.313).

The patterns of migrant flows also changed, since after the outbreak of WWI in 1914 political reasons outnumbered labor ones, creating the figures of exiles, diasporas, refugees and asylum seekers (Hollifield, 2004). By that time, the US consolidated as a country of immigration while Europe became a continent of emigration, which population escaped from famine and violence. This European trend intensified during WWII and was only recently reversed, when since 1950s, industrialized European countries like Germany started to welcome cheap workforce from South Europe and Asia through so-called temporary guest worker programmes (Hollifield, 2004).

Since the 1980s, however, South Europe shifted its status in migratory flows, from emigration to immigration areas (Castles & Miller, 2003, p.7) with specific characteristics

that distinguished them from previous migration flows within Europe, especially to the Northern region. South Europe received people from very diverse origins, usually part of sex segregated flows (e.g. predominance of men in flows from Morocco, and of women in flows from the Philippines and Latin America) and labor markets in demand of low skilled workers who would cover vacancies mainly in the service sector, usually in informal economic regimes (Zontini, 2010).

"Family is first": beloved ones across borders

The changing scenarios brought about by globalization processes (e.g. in the labor markets, the local economies, etc.) have also impacted on family relationships, so that traditional forms have been reconfigured through flexible and adaptable strategies. It has become more common to move in search of better opportunities, according to global labor markets' needs (e.g. domestic and care workers, factory employees, high-skilled professions, etc.). Families constitute a primary site of social and economic organization based on blood ties and strong socio-cultural structures that set basic rules for members to interact, support and take care of each other, with different roles and expectations depending mainly on age and gender. A key motivation in migrants' patterns of connectivity is the maintenance of social and personal networks, mainly composed of family members and close friends who live in distant, sometimes scattered places. As one interviewed expressed: "Family is first. You can be anywhere, but you must keep in touch with the family" (Said, 20).

The systematic analysis of migratory families, however, has not become a central focus of research within migrant studies until recently (Boyd, 1989). Mexican anthropologist Fernando Herrera Lima (2001) made an important contribution to this area of knowledge, conceptualizing transnational families as "one of the most social institutions that makes possible the operation and persistence of transnational social spaces" (2001, p.78). He highlighted the importance of challenging widespread prejudices on these families as disintegrated, and analyzed a "success story" (2001, p.80) that showed they should be better understood as reconfigured families.

The advent of transnational families studies (henceforth TFS) provided a specific academic niche for interdisciplinary research on "families that live some or most of the time separated from each other, yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely `familyhood' even across borders" (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002, p.3). The main contribution of the TFS approach has been to make visible three related and usually forgotten issues: the interplay of power asymmetries at various levels, the importance of care work and women's experiences.

Firstly, the levels at which power differences manifest themselves are marked by: a) differences in transnational family members, as the active-passive tensions experienced between those who stay –non migrants– and those who move –migrants–, b) differences in gender roles and expectations, and c) differences in ICT use, when there are various barriers at both origin and destination societies (e.g. digital literacy, expressive needs, socio-cultural contexts, differences in infrastructures and the costs of communication). For instance, when migrants access more resources than their non-migrant relatives, they seem to perform more active roles, for example, they are usually the ones who decide on the frequency and length of communication, if they set the time for calling as well as for receiving a call (Madianou & Miller, 2012; Mahler, 2001) or even for switching off the MP (Lindley, 2007) or changing its number (Riak Akuei, 2007) when they do not want to listen to non-migrants' demands. However, active roles in transnational relationships are not exclusive of migrants, and might be played by non-migrants in various situations, for example, when they decide how to spend economic remittances or when they give emotional support at a distance.

Secondly, TFS inherited the insights of previous works that highlighted the importance of personal networks and gendered roles in migratory projects, paying special attention to the role of women and the intersections of generation, class, ethnicity and origin (Boyd, 1989; Pessar & Mahler, 2003). In 1993, Castles and Miller (2003) highlighted the increasing visibility of migrant women in the study of migratory flows with the expression "feminization of migration" (2003, p.28). Although they have always played important roles in re/productive tasks for the sake of family and community members in migratory contexts −both at origin and destination places−, migrant women have been

ignored in the literature or, in the best of cases, they have been considered as dependent partners of migrants, brought by reunification processes, devoid of all agency and personal motivations (Kofman, 1999; Lutz, 2010; Mahler & Pessar, 2001).

Since the second half of the 20th century, women have acquired more visibility in international migration for their pioneer role in starting and leading many migratory flows. They have become the first family member to migrate and the initiator of processes of family reunification, being among the most paradigmatic cases those of Latin Americans and Philippines in both the US and Europe (Gregorio Gil, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Madianou & Miller, 2012; Pedone, 2005; Peñaranda, 2010; Uy-Tioco, 2007; Zontini, 2010; de La Fuente Vilar, 2011). This work has helped to conceptualize the figure of the transnational mother, who leaves her child(ren) behind in origin societies and continue to raise them at a distance.

Increasingly, the TFS literature has been permeated by migrants' fast adoption of ICT for managing relationships at a distance, including in their analysis patterns of access, use and appropriation in order to elucidate whether new media are available in different situations and, if so, what changes and challenges it brings to transnational family arrangements. In this scenario, both migrant and non-migrant women have played key roles in transnational family communication. In a qualitative multisited research, Wilding (2006) observed:

> Michaela di Leonardo (1987) established that kinwork –the work of maintaining family relations– is generally the work of women in households. In our research, too, telephone calls and letters remained predominantly the domain of women in transnational families (2006, p.135).

The feminine role in trans/national communication might not come as a surprise if it is understood in the context of care practices, a third contribution of the transnational families' literature. Based on Finch and Mason's work on traditional families, Baldassar, Baldock, and Wilding (2007) conceptualized transnational care giving as a dual process in which various exchanges of support take place, namely, emotional, practical, financial,

accommodation and personal. These supportive practices are influenced by what Merla and Baldassar have identified as different capabilities: mobility, social relations, time-allocation, education and knowledge, paid work and communication (Merla, 2010). In turn, Baldassar (2007) distinguished between different communication patterns involved in transnational care giving, namely routine, ritual and crisis:

> *Routine*, day-to-day caring is characterised by the regular contact exemplified by (…) weekly phone calls (…). *Ritual* caring involves marking special events like birthdays and anniversaries and makes up much of what di Leonardo defines as kinwork. *Crisis,* key event caring, in contrast, generally involves unexpected or unanticipated events or times of increased need (Baldassar, 2007, p.394).

TFS have inspired numerous fieldwork, which empirical evidence provided revealing analysis of the emotional and affective dimensions of migrant connectivity, attending to complex dynamics and asymmetries generated in migrants' relationships with their non-migrant relatives, friends and acquaintances on the other end of the line (Baldassar, 2007; Carling, 2008; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Horst, 2006; Mahler & Pessar, 2001; Wilding, 2006 and elsewhere). Such complexities are not fully acknowledged by commercial messages that too often make an instrumental use of metaphors of physical closeness with distant beloved ones through cheap and frequent phone calls and money wires. These services with strong presence in the migration industry draw on a "rhetoric of `everywhere and at any time', typical of the connectionist world" (Licoppe, 2004, p.152), which roots rely on the so called information age.

2.3. Connectivity: the Information Age

A defining aspect of the contemporary stage of globalisation is precisely the triumph of interconnection or "complex connectivity" (Tomlinson, 1999, p.2): "the rapidly developing and ever-densening network of interconnections and interdependences that characterize modern social life". What is historically making a point of inflection in interconnection is the speed, scale, and amount in the circulation of different flows

enhanced by digital technologies, and how it all resounds in different regions of the globe simultaneously and in people and groups differently.

> The information age locates our contemporary societies in a different and later stage of the industrial era, according to the information technology paradigm: constituted around microelectronics-based information/communication technologies, and genetic engineering [that] replaces/subsumes the technological paradigm of the Industrial Age, organized primarily around the production and distribution of energy" (Castells, 2000a, pp.5-6).

The emergence and development of ICT across the globe have implied deep changes in the way societies, the institutions and the individuals who compose them organise themselves and interact with each other, in most of economic, political and cultural dimensions. Spanish sociologist Manuel Castells has argued that such changes have resulted in a new social structure he calls "the network society" (Castells, 2000b). It is organized in interconnected nodes (of persons, groups, institutions, countries, cities, etc.) that interact through flows (of information, money, imaginaries, etc.) almost in real time across borders.

The conceptualization of the key concepts that define contemporary globalization, such as interconnection and the network society, has not happened without criticism. According to some scholars, such as German sociologist Friedrich Krotz (2008), most of these concepts sound too speculative, abstract and insufficient to describe daily empirical facts:

> [They] are formal concepts that only refer to the mechanisms of some specific fields of social life. Because of this ,the concept fails to grasp the full reality of the manner in which people are socially positioned and live their lives (…) the concepts of complex connectivity and of network society refer to *expected* states of the social and cultural life in the future. Thus they predict what will be instead of starting to analyze the existing developments of today in their full complexity (Krotz, 2008, pp.13-14, *emphasis added*).

This approach coincides with my own concerns on the ways the concept of connectivity seems to have become a trendy term devoid of analytic potential or just

ignorant of important dimensions of reality. A first step towards a more located politics of connectivity[18] is to critically define the concept we are working with. In the literature on contemporary globalization there are two intertwined concerns with regard to connectivity: one refers to the distinction between flows and networks, the other one deal with the time-space relationships.

The ways in which we experience and perceive time and space have radically changed**,** as events seem to happen in real time independently of physical location and time zones. This situation has resulted into a re-conceptualization of the Euclidean notions of time and space that had prevailed for most of Western history, resulting in expressions such as "time-space compression" (Harvey, 1989) and "time-space distanciation" (Anthony Giddens, 1991, p.21) as well as "dematerialization (...) deterritorialization and the disembedding of things and people from their localities: things increasingly *flow* around the world without regard of territorial boundaries or for places" (Slater & Tonkiss, 2001, p.182, *emphasis added*).

The second concern involves defining precisely what flows and networks exactly refer to, since they are both keywords in the description of globalization as connectivity but they pertain to conceptually different domains. According to Hepp, Krotz, Moores and Winter (2008), flows are processing devices and networks are structuring ones.

> Held et al. (1999) distinguished them as follows: "*flows* refer to the movements of physical artefacts, people, symbols, tokens, and information across space and time, while *networks* refer to regularized or patterned interactions between independent agents, nodes of activity, or sites of power (Modelski 1972, Mann 1986, Castells 1996)" (Held et al., 1999, p.16, *emphasis added*).

As an analytic device, the concept of flows has revolutionized much of the social sciences since it frames explanations of reality as processes instead of as static facts. Various

[18] I paraphrase Finnish media scholar Marja Vehviläinen's concept of the *"*located politics of technology*"*, that takes into account "the starting point of each group's concrete setting" (2002, p.23) when interacting with technology.

social scientists have drawn on flows to explain the complex dynamics of contemporary societies, conceptualizing them from different but complementary disciplinary backgrounds.

Castells coined the expressions “space of flows and timeless time” to describe “the technological and organizational possibility of organizing the simultaneity of social practices without geographical contiguity” (Castells, 2000b, p.453). The complementary but also competing side is the “space of places: a locale whose form, function and meaning are self-contained within the boundaries of physical contiguity” (Castells, 2000b, p.453. These new conceptualizations of space and time that are at the core of the global network societies have implications in all levels of social organization, redefining the roles and reach of governments, business, families and individuals.

The space of flows has a particular theoretical strength for looking at migratory processes since it allows transcending the dichotomy origin/destiny, and making visible the multiple strategies migrant people have to manage relationships across borders and to live simultaneously in more than one physical place (Ros et al. 2007). In this sense, the role of ICT enhanced connectivity is increasingly important in migrants’ lives when, for example, distant beloved ones achieve regular communication on quotidian affairs independently of their geopolitical location. In this sense, “the diffusion of mobile communication technology greatly contributes to the spread of the space of flows and timeless time as the structures of our everyday life” (Castells, Fernandez-Ardevol, Qiu, & Sey, 2007, p., 171).

Another influential theorist of flows is anthropologist Arjun Appadurai. Challenging what he considered rigid categories in the classical approaches of the social sciences, he proposed “five dimensions of global cultural flows that can be termed (a) ethnoscapes, (b) mediascapes, (c) technoscapes, (d) financescapes, and (e) ideoscapes” (Appadurai, 1996, p.33). “Scapes” are not stable taxonomies but fluent entities that overlap and determine each other within a framework of power differences. The rationale behind his project was to provide accounts of the complexities of local-global interactions at various levels and involving very disparate actors, taking into account the disconnections or “disjunctive relationships among human movements, technological flows, and financial transfers” (Appadurai, 1996, p.35). His project has been further developed by other scholars who

aimed to demystify and problematize "the bounded and static categories of nation, ethnicity, community, place and state" (Blunt, 2007, p.682).

These conceptual landscapes have helped me to frame my own research in terms of specific e*thnoscapes* or "the world of persons on the move" (Appadurai, 1996, p.21) related to the particularities of immigration in Spain, as well as in relation to a *technoscape* of possibilities for travelling and for accessing to simultaneous communication and valuable information, through for example the internet and MP use. MT services could be also considered a dimension of *technoscapes*, as with digital technology money has acquired new forms of circulation, apparently independently of physical and time constraints, what means that such transactions operate in a space of flows. This money, including the remittances migrant people circulate between their kinship, also enters the terrain of *financescapes* or the trajectories of global capital. Next subsection focuses on the intersections of ethnoscapes and technoscapes.

2.3.1. The intersections of migration and ICT

Since long time ago, migrants have kept emotional and economic ties across borders (Glick Schiller, Basch, & Blanc, 1995) taking advantage of the resources at hand at different historic periods, from the post service (Elliott, Gerber, & Sinke, 2006) to the internet. Trans/national connectivity has always existed, but it used to be heavily dependent on physical movement. With the widespread of travel and ICT, interconnectivity has become less and less dependent on physical movement*,* acquiring new dimensions and intensities, including the possibility of different "modes of mobility: physical, imaginary and virtual" (Diminescu, 2008, p.570):

> Today's migrants are the actors of a *culture of bonds*, which they themselves have founded and which they maintain even as they move about (…) it is more and more common for migrants to maintain remote relations typical of relations of proximity and to activate them on a daily basis. This 'virtual' bond – via telephone or email – makes it easier than before to stay close to one's family, to others, to what is happening to them, at home or elsewhere, and even allows one to do this better (Diminescu, 2008, p.567)

Nowadays, digital technologies have enhanced migrants' trans/national relationships, yielding to an emerging research field that offers interdisciplinary explanations of the social, economic, cultural and political implications of migrants' particular processes of adoption, use and appropriation of ICT for different purposes. Although until a few years ago it was a poorly explored area in academic research, now this seems to be changing at great speed, as shown by the increasing number of research programmes that have spanned across universities.[19] Moreover, there is a burgeoning academic literature that offers new insights from multiple disciplinary locations. Some referent titles are *Media and Migration* (King & Wood, 2002), *Transnational lives and the media* (Bailey, Georgiou, & Harindranath, 2007), *Le Migrant Online* (Nedelcu, 2007) *Diasporas in new media age* (Alonso and Oiarzabal 2010), *Migration and New Media* (Madianou & Miller, 2011), *Migration, Diaspora and Information Technology in Global Societies* (Fortunati, Pertierra, & Vincent, 2011), to mention but a few authored and edited books exclusively dedicated to the topic. There is also a prolific production of book chapters and journal articles that add to the list. Many of these pieces of work considered how migrants and ethnic minorities interact with mass media, including reception, production and practices of representation (mainly in audiovisual and print mass media); others, increasingly include patterns of new media use, or dedicate exclusively to ICT.

In this context of theoretical awakening, French-based sociologist Dana Diminescu (2008) conceptualized "the connected migrant", which epitomizes the increasing importance acquired by a new perspective in the research of migration, in which migrants would not be any more deployed as isolated beings in a hostile destination that demands them to sacrifice their relationships in origin. On the contrary, they would be better conceptualized as people who maintain and build multiple, simultaneous bonds and are actively engaged in the exchange of material and informational resources from and to different locations almost in real time:

> The paradigmatic figure of the uprooted migrant is yielding to another figure –one that is as yet ill defined but which corresponds to that of a migrant on the move

[19] For an overview of the European academic offer, see Borkert, Cingolani, and Premazzi (2009).

> who relies on alliances outside his own group of belonging without cutting his ties with the social network at home (Diminescu, 2008, p.567).

This new paradigm fed from the transnational perspective that emerged as an alternative to one sided accounts of migration ignorant of how people have historically kept ties with kin and diverse social groups and institutions in origin societies. It is above all a shared *perception* among scholars that, what have substantially changed, are not only migrants' practices themselves, but the ways social scientists have started to approach the phenomenon. It first led to the conceptualizations of the "transmigrant" (Glick Schiller et al., 1995) that highlights the multiple bonds and belongings of immigrants beyond national boundaries. Once ICT became widely available, a kind of migrant-cyborg figuration emerged, in the Harawayan sense, as a technologically enhanced actor that extends and intensifies connectivity practices historically developed within migratory contexts. Thus in continuation with Diminescu's figuration of the connected migrant, we find "the online migrant" (Nedelcu, 2009), the "mediatized migrant" (Hepp, Bozdag, & Suna, 2012) and the "connected transnational family" (Madianou & Miller, 2012, p.1).

The online migrant was conceptualized after fieldwork in Canada with high-skilled Romanian migrants whose migratory experiences were enhanced by the internet and mobile technologies at different stages. Initially, to-be migrants could get information on the destination before arrival; once there, they could keep virtual co-presence with beloved ones who stayed in Rumania, and also played important roles in diasporic political activism (Nedelcu, 2009).

Apart from considering personal new media (e.g. the internet and MP) such as Diminescu's "connected migrant", Hepp et al. proposed the concept of "mediatized migrant" that takes into account the intertwining of all media, both new and old, personal and mass media:

> Like other people in Europe or North America, migrants live highly media-saturated lives. This means, we can only understand the everyday life world of migrants if we focus on the interrelation between different media and everyday practices, including (traditional) mass media *as well as* (new) media of personal communication. These media in total constitute a media environment that also produces certain social possibilities and restrictions (Meyrowitz, 1995, p. 51). In the

> perspective of an individual person, a media environment becomes concrete in the form of "media repertoires" (Hasebrink & Popp, 2006), that is the totality of used media and their interrelation (Hepp et.al., 2012, pp.173-174, *emphasis added*).

The main contribution of the mediatized migrant for my work has been the acknowledgement of migrant experiences as highly shaped by media environments in trans/national contexts. Although I agree with this epistemological proposal, in my own research I could only apply it partially, for at least two reasons. Firstly, my focus is not on communicative connectivity but on what I call trans/ational connectivity that implies considering practices that are not strictly defined as communicative but more broadly as connecting different realities that take place in the trans/national space, such as the multisited family support through money wires. Secondly, my research focuses mainly on social interactions through personal media, leaving aside the communicative repertoires of mass media.

Before developing the third key concept of this dissertation, the market society, I propose to delve into the theoretical debates that frame the two cases of migrant connectivity services I focus on: MP and MT.

2.3.2. Migrants and mobile phones

Despite their secondary place in the literature −often more concerned with the Internet− simple MP have the highest penetration rates among low-income users (Ling & Horst, 2011, p.364), including migrants of diverse profiles.[20] They constitute a paramount resource for maintaining bonds and building networks in the countries of origin and destination, and the in-between spaces of migratory trajectories.

Some research has focused on the role MP have in very different migratory experiences, such as rural Jamaicans' (Horst, 2006; Horst & Miller, 2006), overseas Filipinos' (Paragas, 2009; Uy-Tioco, 2007) and Chinese regional migrants' (Cartier et al., 2005; Chu & Yang, 2006; Law & Peng, 2008; Qiu, 2009; Wallis, 2011; Yang, 2008), to mention but a few.

[20] The conceptual link between migrants and low-income users involves considering a particular migrant profile that for diverse contextual and personal reasons usually access to low-paid and low-skill jobs.

On the one hand, this literature is extremely useful to understand both migrants and non-migrants distinctive appropriations of MP as low-income users, whose digital media use is heavily dependent on restricted budgets but also deeply shaped by emotional priorities of keeping in touch at a distance. On the other hand, part of this research work has tended to isolate MP from wider media environments and their relation with other communication devices, a drawback the current research aims to overcome by including information on wider media use and money wires. In this sense, I argue that the literature on migrants and MP will increasingly need to attend to two recurrent topics that, as we will see, are highly intertwined and interdependent: media costs and media convergence.

Media costs: the economic challenges of communication for low income-migrants

Media costs reflect a long standing reality in migratory contexts in which access has been historically shaped by economic constraints. Although it has not been much analyzed in the literature, there are a few revealing exceptions. In his seminal analysis of migrants' transnational practices through regular international telephone calls, Vertovec (2004) argued that as prices quickly dropped, people started to make more frequent phone calls abroad. His argument identified the 1990s as a point of inflection when "the significant increase in the carrying capacity of the long-distance network and the dramatic fall in the cost of international calls" (2004, p.219) made this technology a main resource for migrants to stay in touch with their transnational personal and social networks. By comparing second hand statistics of international calls traffic worldwide, he was able to establish patterns of frequency and intensity "between specific countries with strong migration connections" (2004, p.220), such as Mexico and the United States (US) or Pakistan and the United Kingdom (UK). The widespread use of MP redirected much of this important −though under examined− inquire on costs towards the practices enhanced by the new devices. In particular, there is a growing body of work with regional migrants in China that has shed some light on quite unexplored issues in migrant connectivity, namely the material constraints people face to keep in touch, and the role of the telecom industry in facilitating or obstructing interconnection. For instance, recent fieldwork in industrial regions of China

that have attracted mostly regional migrant flows,[21] have focused on the needs and practices of low-income users and the consequent development of low-end ICT such as *locutorios*, prepaid telecom services and cheap handsets. These were still on the increase, despite the dismissal of both the Chinese government agencies and the telecom oligopolies (Cartier et al., 2005, pp.14-15). Indeed as US-based professor Araba Sey (2009) exemplified with late night calls in Ghana, while users' practices have inspired the industry to offer better solutions in low-cost services, such practices might not offer enough revenues and some business people may want to stop them (2009, p.160).

The success of business of low-end ICT services offered to price sensitive customers relies in numerous potential customers avid to use cheap services. Indeed various studies conducted in Africa and Asia have suggested that low-income users tend to invest large sums of money in their telecommunication budgets in comparison with their total incomes (Galperin, 2010; Moonesinghe, de Silva, Silva, & Abeysuriya, 2006). Chu and Yang (2006) interviewed poor rural Chinese migrant workers and found that they had MP in so high esteem that they owned very modern devices despite their low incomes: "spending, on average, three to four months of their monthly income on buying cell phones (...) [of] often more expensive models than those of the entrepreneurs that employ them" (2006, p.225). Moreover, when analysing cheap call rates, they concluded that they serve to turn low-volume users into more loyal customers:

> Once the workers have become accustomed to using a cell phone, it seems that cheap rates will only turn them into more frequent users (...) cheap rates do not mean that the workers are spending less, as cheap rates can generate more usage (Chu & Yang, 2006, pp.227-228).

Media convergence: contextualizing mobile phones

Apart from media costs, another important concept in the analysis of migrant connectivity is media convergence, defined as "the proliferation of channels and the

[21] Mainly "the Guangdong Province in south China, which includes three of the four original special economic zones (including the largest one, Shenzhen, on the Hong Kong border)" (Cartier et al., 2005, p.13).

portability of new computing and telecommunications technologies (...) where media will be everywhere and we will use all kinds of media in relation to each other (Jenkins, 2004, p.34).

This idea of the interdependence and overlapping of different media and "the relationship between existing technologies, industries, markets, genres and audiences" (Jenkins, 2004, p.34) has been previously hinted by the concept "mediascape" (Appadurai, 1996) and further elaborated in "media ensembles" (Morley, 2007), "communicative ecology" (Slater & Tacchi as cited in Horst & Miller, 2006; De Bruijn, 2009), "transmediality" (Hepp, 2010) and, more recently, "polymedia" (Madianou & Miller, 2011).

Appadurai (1996) proposed the concept "mediascape" to refer to the fluidity of mass media content and its implication for the imaginative work for increasingly global audiences: "*Mediascapes* refer to the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information (…) that provide (…) large and complex repertoires of images, narratives and ethnoscapes throughout the world" (1996, p.35). With the advent of new media, new research questions raised, giving way to new concepts. "Transmediality" (Hepp, 2010) emerged from a theoretical concern for transcending media-centric research in order to reach more comprehensive approaches based on people's everyday practices, where the limits between different media have become more blurred. Hepp (2010) drew on David Morley and Nick Couldry respective warnings about the dangers of relying too much on media to explain social processes, especially one kind of media in isolation from the rest (Hepp, 2010, p.42). Instead, he highlighted the need to focus on various media as part of a wider communicative environment.

In a similar vein, "polymedia" (Madianou & Miller, 2011) underlined the combination and strategic use of diverse new and old media that migrants make with different purposes in the management of relationships at a distance. It has the particularity of referring to the costs of media access as a secondary element in migrants' choices, privileging cultural contexts and emotional dimensions as more determinant factors in migrants' repertoires of connectivity. However, the authors stated that, far from being a general trend, "polymedia was only an emergent condition in relation to our actual fieldwork". In the end, they added: "In practice, very few of our informants have

experienced communication as a kind of entirely free choice from a menu of possibilities" (Madianou & Miller, 2011, p.127). As we will see in Chapter 8, my own fieldwork coincides with these results in which economic constraints play an important role in the way people can communicate transnationally. I am afraid that the polymedia concept is less useful to describe an empirical reality than to express a future desire, in the line described by Krotz (2008) with regard to concepts such as complex connectivity and the network society.[22]

While they differ in focus, the perspectives presented above serve to emphasize two key issues: firstly, how the development of ICT has concentrated different platforms and functionalities in one single device that can also interact with other devices and access wireless mobile networks. Secondly, the complex ways in which people adapt to these new environments and construct customized media repertoires in specific contexts.

After this brief overview on media costs and convergence in migrant connectivity, where different needs and routines of communication are at work, next section will consider specific theoretical approaches to explain the relationships that different users create with technology through strategies of use and appropriation.

2.3.3. Mobile theories: between the sociology of communication and ICT4D

There is not a "single, integrated `theory of mobile communications´ to comprehensively cover all the issues at hand" (Ling & Donner, 2009, p.12). Instead, there are different theories that emerge to explain different aspects of MP, becoming more diverse insofar as the device evolves to provide more and more affordances and becomes a "Swiss army knife" (Boyd as cited in Hjorth, 2008, p.91). However, even when MP handsets have rapidly incorporated cameras, Bluetooth,[23] and wireless connections, the basic functions of talk and text (making and receiving voice calls plus SMS) were until recently the most common functions used by the majority of people worldwide (Ling & Donner, 2009, p.13).

[22] See pages 40-41 of this dissertation.

[23] Bluetooth is "a technology that wirelessly connects devices and lets them share information such as music and pictures" (Doyle, 2011).

MP have become key elements in contemporary new media environments, together with the Internet, computers and other mobile devices. The widespread adoption of MP is a phenomenon that responds to a complex web of cultural, social and economic processes, including top-down actions −such as market regulations boosted by national and regional governments and the commercial strategies launched by the telecommunication industry[24]− as well as bottom-up actions - such as individual users' practices of appropriation and innovation. It has had important consequences on the way people relate to each other and organise daily in all spheres of life.

Technically, MP can be considered a hinge technology that continues and extends the revolutionary possibilities of fixed telephones (Katz & Aakhus, 2002). The interfaces and affordances of both fixed and mobile phones used to be very similar in terms of providing telecommunication services for making and receiving calls. For many people who had the experience of having fixed telephone, it was quite easy to start using a MP.[25] However, while landline phones were usually shared by many people (e.g. a family) and implied conversations between fixed places, MP do so from person to person at any place and situation with network coverage. MP are highly personalized media (Ling, 2004, p.172) that allows users to be always reachable and to get immediate communication, leading to "a new `personal communication society'" (Campbell & Park, 2008, p.1). This has become especially relevant for people with highly mobile lives, from business elites to migrant workers who, for different reasons −usually associated with family and work life− need to be easily reachable.

Horst and Miller (2006) distinguished between two substantial bodies of work on the MP: the sociology of communication and development studies. The former has focused on rich metropolitan regions and was pioneer in understanding the "mobility and individuality" (Horst & Miller, 2006, p.7) of MP in contrast to fixed telephones, framing the analysis with debates on how technology use stimulates or constraints social capital vs.

[24] See for example Oestmann (2003).

[25] This is especially relevant in the context of other ICT such as computers, which demanded some literacy and specific knowledges. As we will see later in the text, the most modern MP devices nowadays have multiple purposes and more complex functions, similar to computers.

individualism (2006, p.10). The latter body of work on MP has looked at their adoption by low-income users in so called developing regions of the world, where many people had not accessed a telephone before, and their potential to improve people's welfare (Barrantes & Galperin, 2008; Fernández-Ardèvol, Galperin, & Castells, 2011; Moonesinghe, de Silva, Silva, & Abeysuriya, 2006 and elsewhere). This literature framed the debate around the digital divide as a branch of development studies, in particular ICT for development (ICT4D) or, more recently, mobiles for development (M4D).

Like Horst and Miller's (2006), my research work nurtures from both the sociology of communication and ICT4D, but it is also located elsewhere, exploring MP uses among medium and low-income migrants in a 'developed' region, Spain. This means that while infrastructures and services are widely available in the destination society, many of my informants' practices are similar to those reported by low-income users' in the global south, since both groups face some kind of budgetary constraints. Of course, many other practices differ, like for example owning more than one MP handset or number (very common for many migrants in Catalonia), which is not common among low-income non-migrant people in, for example, rural Ghana, where family members might share one single handset (Sey, 2009). This responds to the availability of handsets in the market and people's real possibilities to afford them, which is usually conditioned by providers' special plans and subsidies of terminals.

Conceptual contributions from the sociology of communication

Some of the most influential debates of the sociology of communication on MP have involved two main issues: firstly, how changes in communication technologies have affected social cohesion and secondly, the ways in which users experience time and space. The former refers to new ways of human interaction in which face-to-face and mediated forms combine, sometimes in productive ways (Katz & Rice as cited in Ling, 2008, p.5), others negative ways, (Kraut and Nie as quoted in Ling, 2008, p.5; Kopooma and Wellman as cited in Chu & Yang, 2006 p.224). The latter refers to the acceleration and intensification of a process already started with the telegraph and later improved by the fixed telephone: the

possibility of communicating instantaneously in spite of physical distances and its consequences for coordination and social networking (Ling & Campbell, 2009).

The public space has become flooded with MP users who seem to disconnect themselves from the immediate surroundings in order to connect to their personal devices, blurring the traditional private/public space division of modern societies.[26] In this regard, mobile communication has exacerbated what Gergen (2002) called "absent presence" as a state of being physically present, but mentally and socially elsewhere. Ling (Ling, 2008)found that mobile communication "supports better contact within the personal sphere, sometimes at the expense of the interaction with those who are co-present" (2008, p.3). I suggest that when the focus is on trans/national personal spheres, this view can radically change and be seen as a "present absence": a physical absence in the society of origin that becomes a virtual presence with the help of ICT enhanced connectivity. A good example of this is transnational motherhood, when migrant women regularly call their children or text them to check how they are doing at home and at school in their societies of origin. On the one hand, "remote mothering" (Rakow & Navarro, 1993) through MP is not exclusive of migrant women but extensive to all mothers who need to monitor their children's various daily activities. On the other hand, transnational spaces offer specific challenges to parenting at a distance, with its highly gendered connotations. In particular, Philippine media scholar Cecilia Uy-Tioco analyzed the use of MP among Philippine migrant mothers living in the US and evidenced the contradictions of empowering practices through texting and calling, and the perpetuation of "traditional roles in a patriarchal system" (2007, p.264).

Other social changes introduced by MP widespread use, apart from the "personalization of public space" (Campbell & Park, 2008),[27] refer to the symbolic meanings that convey status, social and personal identity, the emergence of mobile youth cultures, different experiences of security and novel ways of coordinating and networking (Campbell & Park, 2008; Ling, 2004; Ling & Campbell, 2009).

[26] In migrant contexts, this was richly illustrated by Benitez (2006). "Among immigrants, these public phone conversations are normally performed in their native language, which create a temporary linguistic appropriation of the space in the context of the publicness of co-presence" (2006, p.190)

[27] Ling calls it "disturbance of public space" (Ling, 2008, p.3).

MP uses can be broadly classified into expressive/relational/symbolic and utilitarian/instrumental/functional (depending on different authors' terminology), two dimensions that usually overlap and become blurred in practice. The former refer mainly to the aesthetic dimension of owing a MP but also to its use for communicating for the sake of communication, that is, without a specific purpose. Instead, purpose-oriented communication is a defining characteristic of functional uses. Campbell and Park (2008) related this to Ling and Yttri's distinction between hyper and micro-coordination, emerged from their research in Norway but that can be extensive to other research contexts.

> Micro-coordination entails instrumental uses of the mobile phone, such as coordinating basic logistics, redirecting trips that are already under way, or making plans with others entirely 'on the fly'. Hyper-coordination refers to the expressive and relational dimensions of mobile communication, such as chatting with family members or occasionally checking in with friends via text messaging (Campbell & Park, 2008, p.6).

They also proved useful as an interpretive framework for analysing the interviews I conducted with migrants in Catalonia, especially if we take into account the variable of physical distance at a global level, so that coordination and networking tasks through MP acquire different meanings at different levels. According to Salvadorian media scholar José Luis Benitez (2006), "through phone communications transmigrants renegotiate family, employment and sociocultural networks in the co-presence contexts of interaction as well as transnational mediated social relations" (2006, p.191). Micro-coordination becomes essential at the local level of informal labor markets in destination, in which people need to be well connected and always available for eventual job opportunities, and it is also essential at the trans/national level, for managing relationships at a distance.

Conceptual contributions from ICT for development

The fast penetration of MP in the poorest regions of the world in Africa, Asia and Latin America has led to an emerging field of study that focuses on how despite difficulties (mainly economic constraints and lack of appropriate technological infrastructures), people manage to access and use these devices in productive ways.

As part of his research on MP in the developing world, American scholar Jonattan Donner (2008) distinguished between three general approaches to the research on MP: adoption, impact and interrelationships, as shown in Table 2.1. *Adoption* is based on Roger's (2003) diffusion theory that explains how innovations are received by society in a quite linear interpretation of reality. This linear bias is also present in the *impact* approach, mainly concerned with measuring MP incidence on economic growth. The *interrelationship* approach offers a more complex understanding of MP use "as co-constructed phenomena" (Donner, 2008, p.146), which analysis requires considering contextual particularities as well as active users. Adoption and impact studies tend to draw mainly on quantitative data, while the interrelationship approach welcomes more qualitative analysis.

Table 2.1. "Common research themes about mobiles in the developing world".

Common research themes about mobiles in the developing world

General approach	Non-ICTD	ICTD
Mobile adoption (mobile as dependant variable)	Liberalization Diffusion/adoption	Digital divide Universal access
Mobile impact (mobile as independent variable)	Education; emergencies; medicine	Economic growth (macro and micro); livelihoods
Mobile interrelationships (emergent or ensemble approaches)	Appropriation; 'everyday life'; globalization; design in context	Evaluation or design of ICTD projects

Source: Donner (2008, p.144).

The table proves useful to locate my own research theoretically as an interrelational approach that aims to understand MP use in terms of appropriation in everyday life. Technology appropriation is a process that "involves evaluation by users as they encounter, adopt and adapt, then integrate a technology into their everyday practices" (Carroll, Howard, Peck, & Murphy, 2007, p.39). Its conceptual strength is the underlying assumption that technology and society are highly intertwined dimensions of human activity

and that they relate to each other in complex ways. Against deterministic views that analyze this phenomenon in terms of impacts, causes and effects, linearity and predictability, appropriation takes people's agency seriously and make visible users' active role in shaping technology on a daily basis.

The cultural studies approach to MP (Goggin, 2008a) has conceptualized a symbolic dimension of appropriation through meta-communication at different levels: an interpersonal level, where peers talk about their mobile devices, and a mass-mediated level, where the industry plays an important role through "direct publicity or more subtle measures such as product placement or the sponsoring of role models who may influence users" (Wirth, Von Pape, & Karnowski, 2008, p.604).

Bar, Pisani, and Weber (2007) considered appropriation practices at the heart of the relationships between users and providers of technology, with especial focus on MP. Such relationships are embedded in unequal power hierarchies and structural differences. However, they might be changed through cycles of adoption, appropriation and re-configuration, leading to innovative practices and new cycles:

> The appropriation process is fundamentally political: it is a battle for power over the configuration of a technological system and therefore the definition of who can use it, at what cost, under what conditions, for what purpose, and with what consequences (2007, p.2).

They distinguished between three modalities of technological appropriation, inspired in Latin American cultural traditions: "baroque infiltration", "creolization" and "cannibalism" (Bar et al., 2007). Beyond the colorful names, each modality described a different level of MP user innovation in a spectrum that goes from "baroque" actions promoted by providers (e.g. personalization of basic settings, such as ringtones and screen wallpapers) to creole actions that "explore ways to adapt the technology beyond the options that have been designed by the phone makers and service providers" (Bar et al., 2007, p.32). Examples of "creolization" are "swapping SIM cards to gain access to a different network, while a more sophisticated version of that practice would be to modify the phone

itself so it can hold two SIM cards" (Bar et al., 2007, p.32). The more extreme example of user appropriation is "cannibalism", which implies clashing with providers' commercial interests: "to install Skype on mobile devices (…), phone unlocking (to defeat the contractual restrictions associated to device subsidies) (…), rebuilding of cell phones into detonators that let terrorists trigger explosions from a distance with a simple phone call" (Bar et al., 2007, p.35).[28]

In particular, with reference to cases of MP "creolization" in African countries, Bar et al. (2007) observed "the presence of highly developed MP repair cultures" (2007, p.33). I would add that such cultures are usually shaped and promoted by situations of scarcity and difficult access to basic resources, mainly due to economic restrictions, a scenario typically found in so-called developing countries. In this sense, I agree with Sey (2009) who warned that the "uncritical celebration of user innovation in this context has the potential to mask the underlying problem and turn attention away from other possible solutions that could be developed by identifying and attacking the problem at its source" (Sey, 2009, p.163). Her research work mapped strategies of communication developed by low-income users in Ghana, and concluded that "cost barriers inhibit the ability of individuals to employ ICT as extensively as they would like" (2009, p.164).

This relates directly to the concept of "mobile connectivity"[29] elaborated in the context of another developing region, Latin America: "this concept identifies one way of MP appropriation as a fundamentally asymmetrical communication device that allows the user to be reachable for the rest of nodes within a social or economic network, but at the same time, it might limit her ability to generate activity in those networks" (Fernández-Ardèvol, Galperin, & Castells, 2011, p.324). Despite the socio-economic advantages of accessing mobile networks, for many Latin American people with low-incomes this is experienced in somehow passive ways: when MP use is limited to receiving phone calls and SMS, but no credit is available for making the calls. This does not necessarily mean that they are passive

[28] The use of MP for terrorist attacks was used as one of the arguments to pass the Law of Data Storage in 2007 in Spain, which obliged carriers to identify their customers and store this information for the police. I provide more information on this issue in Chapter 7.

[29] *TN: Conectibilidad móvil* in the original text.

agents in the process of connectivity, but that their capabilities are restricted by material constraints. All the pieces of work considered here have pointed out, to different extents, that appropriation is a dynamic process usually embedded in a grid of opportunities and restrictions that users enjoy as well as withstand.

Another important aspect of MP use is the management of remittances, since people rely on MP reachability to ask for money, give instructions to collect it from the money transfer agency (e.g. provide a secret code), check that the money was received or sent and eventually discuss how to distribute it in the household. The clearest example of the interlacing between MP and MT is the African context, where people transfer MP credits to their beloved ones instead of money, be it to support them or demonstrate their love (Sey, 2009). Next subsection presents an overview of MT literature relevant fo rhtis research.

2.3.4. Money transfers: from intimacy to global financial markets

Before the widespread use of the telephone and digital communication technologies, remittances constituted one of the few ways to trail migrants' "linkages to sending areas" (Boyd, 1989, p.643). These "represent long-distance social ties of solidarity, reciprocity, and obligation that bind migrants to their kin and friends across state-controlled national borders" (Guarnizo, 2003, p.671). This working definition needs to be contextualized in a broader body of literature about migrants' remittances that has tended to be multiply biased in at least three dimensions: the *object*, the *impact* and the *actors* of remittances.

The *object* of remittances has been historically considered to be money sent through different channels, both informal (e.g. travellers, *hawala*[30]) and formal (postal

[30] *Hawala* is the Arab word for an informal payment system, based on trust, in which "the transferor lodges a sum of money with a *hawala* broker (known as a *hawaladar*) who then contacts another broker in the recipient's location with instructions for the disposition of the funds (less a small commission), promising to settle the debt at a later date" (Gooch & Williams, 2007). It is thought to be extensively used to fund terrorist actions, although this can be also a way of delegitimizing a non-Western bottom-up way of distributing financial resources.

service, transfers through banks and specialized agencies and, more recently, the internet websites and MP credits or applications). Although money is the most tangible and measurable object of remittances, there are other material as well as non-material objects that circulate between migrant and non-migrant people, for example gifts, care, in-kind remittances and ICT equipment. An important contribution in this direction has been the distinction between social and technological remittances. The former has been more widespread in the literature and constitute "the ideas, behaviours, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving to sending-country communities" (Levitt, 1998, p. 927). The latter were first conceptualized regarding agricultural production (García Zamora, n.d., p.86; Goldring, 2003, p.3; Nichols as cited in Robinson, 2004) and more broadly as the transfer of "knowledge, skills and technologies" (Robinson, 2004, p.7).

The second bias in the literature on remittances refers to their effects or *impact*. In particular, macroeconomic approaches and development studies have focused on their unilateral economic effects of remittances in sending countries, what has been criticized by various scholars. According to Dutch social scientist Hein de Haas, a contemporary "boom in research, in particular on remittances" (2010, p.230) has made recent debates on migration and development to recover the euphoric optimism characteristic of the period between the 50s and early 70s. At that time, modernization theory and neo-classic economics disseminated attractive narratives on development as a linear and progressive process towards welfare, serving international government bodies (e.g. United Nations, International Monetary Fund and the World Bank) in their interventions on non-Western, "less-developed" countries. This rationale provoked numerous critiques during the 70s and 80s, especially framed by neo-Marxist theories, which de Haas classified as "pessimistic views" (2010, p.232) in relation to migration. Now and then, pro-development supporters would argue that remittances positively impact on sending countries' economies, stimulating economic growth and prosperity at both the national and local levels. However, de Haas warned that the relationships between migration and development are not straightforward, but heterogeneous, contingent and variable according to diverse spatiotemporal contexts:

> Migration is not an independent variable ‘‘causing’’ development (or the reverse), but is an endogenous variable, an integral part of change itself and a factor that may enable further change. This is why it is more correct to refer to the reciprocal relationship between migration and broader development processes instead of the –one-way– ‘‘impact’’ of migration on development (de Haas, 2010, p.254).

In turn, Canadian based sociologist Luin Goldring has claimed to go beyond the economic dimension of remittances, and proposed an extensive typology of elements which would articulate differently depending on whether they are family, collective, and/or entrepreneurial related (Goldring, 2003, p.8), which actors are involved in the remittance process, “(...) the norms and logic(s) that regulate it (...) the uses of the remittances (...) [their] social and political meaning (...) and the implications (...) for public policy” (Goldring, 2003, p.8).

Guarnizo (2003) questioned the traditional North-South direction of remittances and pointed out that migrants are involved in diversified and multidirectional economic activities poorly acknowledged in the literature. He also built a typology of these economic exchanges according to their geopolitical direction, adding the “South-North” and “North-North” (2003, p.681) directions. These ones acknowledge the circulation of migrant (economic) capital within the destination societies, in their roles as consumers of various products and services, including “telecommunication, air travel and media [which beneficiaries are] large financial, communication, air transport corporations and the ethnic economy” (2003, p.681).

> Thus apart from “remittances, transnational entrepreneurship, and support to community development (...) migrants’ transnational living generates demands for goods and services that in turn generate a complex array of backward and forward economic linkages that are captured by non-migrant actors, including the state, corporate capital, as well as small-scale business enterprises in the countries involved” (Guarnizo, 2003, p.680).

This quote lists various *institutional actors* that have not been acknowledged in much scholarly work, where the focus has usually pendulated between individual actors: senders and recipients. This constitutes the third bias in the literature on remittances.

Indeed there are diverse new institutional actors avid to manage migrants' flows of money such as governments, international financial institutions and private corporations (Guarnizo, 2003; Orozco, 2000). This means that remittances have long transcended the intimate sphere of the transnational family to become part of global markets' money flows, as expressed by Guarnizo: "the *volume* and *stability* of migrant monetary remittances worldwide have transformed this intimate transaction into one of the most important private transactions in the global economy" (2003, pp.671-672, *emphasis added*). While volume and stability of migrants' remittances have lasted in time, the ways through which this occurs have changed dramatically due to the diversification of channels, including electronic money transfers that have gradually substituted hand deliveries (Orozco, 2002, pp.53-54). Thus remittances have acquired, more than ever, an unprecedented speed, becoming a practice of "technologically mediated diasporas" (Gajjala, 2006, p.179), from the moment migrants take advantage of digital flows of money to allocate their economic resources almost in real time. This is the case for various practices that may or may not involve users' direct use of digital interfaces. As we will see in Chapter 8, migrants interviewed preferred using money transfer agencies or banks. Agencies require filling in a paper form with information on the sender and the beneficiary, handing it in together with an identity card and the amount of money to be sent to the agency employee, and get a tracking number code. Nowadays, new options for money transfer are available online, to be accessible through computers and mobile devices,[31] but their use is still limited to specific regions (e.g. the US and Europe, some African countries, and Asian ones like Malaya and the Philippines) or migrant profiles (e.g. those who own credit card or a 3G mobile device with internet connection).

At the level of individual actors, the latest report of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) entitled *Gender, Migration and Remittances*, stated that "Migrants' remitting behaviours are influenced by several factors, including, but not limited to, gender, age, education, marital status, and position in the family, as well as opportunities in the destination country" (IOM, 2011, p.1). It also referenced different women's migratory roles according to their family contexts: "*breadwinners*, women who have some responsibility

[31] For example, the so-called mobile remittances (Sivapragasam, Agüero, & Silva, 2011).

towards sustaining a family remit more than women who migrate *autonomously* or those who migrate as *dependants*, for example, as wives or daughters" (UN-INSTRAW as cited in IOM, 2011, p.2, *emphasis added*). While being illustrative, this typology might be too reductive of women's multiple and diverse experiences, which have been better acknowledged in the literature on transnational family and migration developed within feminist scholarship. This has problematized the impact of remittances at least in three related ways. Firstly, instead of seeing the phenomenon in isolation, it has included remittances as part of the strategies of care giving at a distance, together with other resources such as regular travelling and/or communication (Baldassar, 2007; Merla, 2010). Secondly, it has developed intersectional analysis considering multiple variables (e.g. gender, class, ethnicity, educational profile and age) in relation to the interplay of power differences between family members and consequent processes of empowerment and subjugation. In some cases, non-migrant women might find themselves in unwanted passive positions, always waiting for their migrant husband to make them a phone call, send them money or eventually return home (Mahler & Pessar, 2001; Pessar & Mahler, 2003). In other cases, migrant women assume active roles as the main breadwinner in the household, sending the money they save in destination societies. However, their efforts might be occluded by husbands or other relatives who take the final decisions over the spending of remittances, independently of women's will (Gregorio Gil, 1998; Pessar & Mahler, 2003). These nuances have been usually absent from macro analysis of remittances which have underestimated and misrepresented women's active role at various levels. To begin with, "most of the studies on remittances so far do not distinguish between remittances transferred by male or female migrants" (Dannecker & Sieveking, 2009, p.8). In her analysis of official reports on migrants' remittances, Kunz (2008) found that international organizations and governmental institutions considered that "men are mainly remittance senders and women are mainly (passive) remittance receivers" (2008, p.1402). This view seems to perpetuate "the dominant model of migration" (Kofman, 1999, p.273) according to which men are the leaders of the migratory project and breadwinners of the transnational family. However, this biased perspective may be changing and migrant women's role might be better acknowledged in new public documents, as Dannecker and

Sieveking (2009) have observed: “Especially as remitters, female migrants have entered the scene of international and national policy and research debates in the role of ‘new’ development actors” (2009, p8). For instance, at the Spanish level, a recent report concluded that in 2006 migrant women sent a 60,3% of the remittances (Moré, Echazarra de Gregorio, Halloufi, & Petru, 2008).

> The IOM report concluded that “At the global level, female migrants send approximately the same amount of remittances as male migrants. However, research suggests that women tend to send a higher proportion of their income, even though they generally earn less than men. They also usually send money more regularly and for longer periods of time (IOM, 2011).

The same report criticized that “traditional discourse on migration and development often portrays women as selfless and sacrificing for their family” (IOM, 2011, p.2) and concluded that some migrant women were doubly appreciated as customers of money transfer agencies, in particular, working-class and/or low skilled women. Firstly, these consumer profile is not attractive for banks (more interested in managing bigger volumes of cash) and secondly, they tend to send “smaller sums more often (...) [so they] tend to spend more on transfer fees” (IOM, 2011, p.1).

Like telecoms, MT companies produce and disseminate global discourses about migrants’ keeping familyhood across distances, in which female characters are very present, in particular in services advertising, as we will see in Chapter 6. These companies are part of the so called migration industry, together with other businesses that offer a multiplicity of products and services customized for living (and surviving) across national borders in contemporary market societies.

2.4. The Market Societies

Apart from being global, the network society is strongly embedded in capitalism (Castells et al., 2002), a model closely associated with `market’, `consumer’ and/or `neoliberal’ societies. It can be broadly defined as “the dominant modern form of social and

economic organization, generally −but not exclusively− characterized by private ownership of the means of production and by the use of markets to allocate resources, distribute goods, and generate profits" (Calhoun, 2002). This definition has been recently updated by various scholars that have identified contemporary capitalism as undergoing a different stage of development, differently labelled "the post-industrial society" (Bell, 1976), "the age of access" (Rifkin, 2000), "digital capitalism" (Schiller, 2000) and "the knowledge economy" (Drucker, 2008), to mention but a few examples. Despite their different ideological positionings, these authors have highlighted the increasing importance of *immaterial* goods in our economies, such as services, knowledge, information and creativity. This has meant that more and more spheres of people's lives have acquired, in Marxist terminology, exchange and use values: they have become permeated by a supply and demand rationale governed by the maximizing of profits and the reduction of costs. These changes evidence the increasing commercialization of basic services, which constitutes the main site for analysing migrants' connectivity in terms of suppliers and users of MP and MT. This political economy of connectivity is often overlooked in the humanities, more concerned with the cultural dimensions of communication processes.

Fairclough (2002) referred to a "new capitalism" marked by new processes of transformation in contemporary societies based on re-structuring and re-scaling (Jessop as cited in Fairclough, 2002):

> A 're-structuring', in the sense that there are shifts in relations between different domains or fields of social life –most obviously, between the economic field and other fields (including the political, educational and artistic fields), including a 'colonization' of other fields by the economic field (…) A 're-scaling', in the sense that there are shifts in relations between different scales of social life –between social life on a local scale (e.g. in small towns), a national scale, a regional scale (e.g. the European Union) and a global scale" (Fairclough, 2002, p.163)

The process of re-structuring helps to describe the increasing pervasiveness of a logic that locates markets relations beyond the economic dimension that first sustained them. In a thorough review of the concept of market society, Slater and Tonkiss (2001) defined it as follows:

> A market logic has come to provide a means of thinking about social institutions and individuals more generally, such that notions of competition, enterprise, utility and choice can be applied to various aspects of people's working lives, access to public services and even private pursuits (…) If it is sometimes hard to see how these different markets relate to each other, it seems clear that the *market idea* goes beyond models of economic co-ordination to touch on broader principles of social regulation and social action (Slater & Tonkiss, 2001, p.1).

The authors tracked the historical origins of the market logic back to the 18th century, when relationships of commercial exchange started to erode dominating institutions such as tradition, collective bonds and religion, offering new ways of conducting life according to more modern principles related to individuals' efforts and capacities. Their work argued against deterministic and monolithic views of `the' market society as a unified, single entity that can be described in dichotomic terms as good or bad. This conceptual bias has affected many political and economic grand theories, from neo-classics to Marxism, but the authors argued that it is necessary to analyze market societies in plural, as there are different experiences embedded in particular socio-historical moments.

In this context, I aim to explore how migration processes become entangled with markets, from the particular perspective of migrants as users of connectivity services. The literature on migration has widely accounted for migrants' relationships with labor markets as one key aspect of people's motivation to migrate, as an indicator of successful resettlement, the barriers and opportunities to access skilled jobs, as well as the social, political and economic consequences it all implies for origin, destination and in between spaces of migratory pathways. Without ignoring this work, the present thesis focuses on a particular dimension of market organization related not so much on migrants as *producers* of goods and/or services but as *consumers* in the field of transnational connectivity. As we will see in Chapter 4, marketing studies have explored migrants' behaviour and needs as consumers in order to improve commercial opportunities in what is considered an emerging market niche. By contrast, I adopt a less instrumental and more critical perspective to understand the commodification of migrant experiences.

Once markets have entered migrants' lives, we attend to the marketization of migration, that is, in Fairclough's (2002) account, a re-structuring of what is to be a migrant, how it feels to be mobile and to live abroad, and what are the implications of maintaining transnational family ties, through mediated –thus commercialized (Krotz, 2007, p.27)– connectivity. Markets of different services (mobile and fixed telephony, internet, post service, money transfers, etc.) mediate migrants' most intimate vital spheres according to their profit-driven logic and make them visible through particular commercial imagery, as I analyze in detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

Another important process of "new capitalism" (Fairclough, 2002) is re-scaling at various levels. At the micro level of individuals, social life does not exclusively occurs in a "space of places" or fixed location defined by physical proximity any more, but on a "space of flows" (Castells, 2000b, p.453) in which people are not necessary nearby. A good example of the re-scaling of social relations is migrant trans/national families, in which relations are mediated by ICT enhanced connectivity services. At the macro level, Appadurai's concept of *financescapes* epitomizes the re-scaling of the economy, a process in which money has become the most successful actor in the global circulation of flows. Financial markets have resulted doubly favoured by the world's increasing interdependence and interconnection. Firstly, their processes of information-sharing and exchange have speeded up through the technological possibilities offered by ICT; secondly, neoliberal policies have facilitated the *laisser faire* rationale that the financial world needed to operate: "deregulation and liberalisation of financial trading were the crucial factors in spurring globalisation, allowing capital mobility between different segments of the financial industry and around the world, with fewer restrictions and a global view of investment opportunities" (Castells, 2001, p.53). Unlimited movement of money, however, has not been enough to complete the neoliberal dream of worldwide growth (Harvey, 2005, p.154). Instead, new capitalism has resulted in a "global automaton": an entity that escapes any attempt of regulation and accountability, for it is "a mixture of market rules, business and political strategies, crowd psychology, rational expectations, irrational behaviour, speculative manoeuvres and information turbulences of all sorts" (Castells, 2001, p.55).

At the time I wrote this dissertation, the effects of the global financial downturn that started in 2007 and particularly hit South European countries like Spain, Italy, Portugal and Greece, were strongly felt and the object of hot public debates. One of them included the role and responsibilities of government institutions −at both national and international levels− in controlling the speculative excesses of so-called free markets. While such an analysis escapes the aims and scope of my research, it is worth mentioning it to contextualize the weight market societies have in the fate of citizens and nation states.

As territorially bounded institutions, nation states have been challenged by global processes that started to erode long standing dichotomies such as global/local, national/non-national, state/market or public/private. At first, the idea that they would undermine the competencies and even the existence of nation states acquired big currency. However, this narrative defended by the "hyperglobalists" (Held et.al, 1999) was never confirmed and it soon became clear that nation states were experiencing deep transformations to accommodate, although slowly, to social, political and economic changes. One big challenge for nation states involved sacrificing their modern project of being the main location where things happened to assuming the existence of multiple public and private actors in a shared global stage. Indeed "(…) the fact that a process happens within the territory of a sovereign state does not necessary mean it is a national process" (Sassen, 2001, p.187). This situation has become especially visible in the interplay of economic powers that have pushed nation states into what American political scientist James Hollifield has called **"**a liberal paradox" (Hollifield, 2004). According to the author, trade, investment and migration constitute economic forces the liberal state must deal with according to very differently paradigms, since "the economic logic of liberalism is one of openness but the political and legal logic is one of closure" (2004, pp.4-5). As a consequence, contemporary migration has tended to be temporarily welcomed when there were specific workforce demands but, in times of national security risks and fading economies, nation states have set up extremely strict border controls. Moreover, in the realm of the telecommunication and MT sectors, national governments have been trapped in multiple liberal paradoxes, as highlighted by Ros et al. (2007):

> (...) the promotion of this new business area −which implies liberalisation and facilities for the development of communications and capital contradicts restrictive and disconnected politics of migration. When it is the state that undertakes both directions, we are envisioning an area of deep contradiction in globalisation (2007, p.33).

2.4.1. Locating connectivity services as part of the migration industry

Migrant populations embody a wide range of experiences, life stories and mobility patterns; they are object of concern for origin and destination nation states and the target of regulations at the local, national and supranational levels; they are cheap labor forces, low as well as high skilled ones. In the spectrum of nuances that go between social, politic and economic exclusion and inclusion, there is the common denominator of migrants as users and consumers of a great variety of products and services, constituting a business opportunity that it would be hard to ignore. The conceptualization of migration as business puts a spotlight on various profit-driven activities that meet migrants' demands at different stages of the migration process (Harney as cited in Hernandez-Leon, 2005; 2013; Hamel 2009; Glick Schiller et al. 1995; van Moppes & Schapendonk 2007; Salt & Stein 1997).

In a pioneer study, Salt and Stein (1997) provided a useful working definition of the migration business[32] as "a system of institutionalized networks with complex profit and loss accounts, including a set of institutions, agents and individuals each of which stands to make a commercial gain" (1997, p.497). This includes actors as diverse as "recruitment organizations, lawyers, agents, smugglers" (Castles, 2000, p.272), "enter immigration advisors, tax refund offices, business consultancies, money sending outlets, banks, travel agents, communication businesses, ethnic media, the ethnic food economy" (Garapich, 2008, p.737). In general, the literature on the topic tends to list the many branches of the

[32] Migration business is sometimes used interchangeably with the expression "migration industry", introduced by Castles and Miller (2003, p.28). For the purposes of this project, I consider the migration industry to be an umbrella term that covers both business or profit oriented activities and non-profit initiatives that support migrants, such as religious institutions, NGO and various associations related to migration.

migration industry but only a few are object of systematic analysis, particularly the ones related to physical mobility, such as smuggling and border crossing.[33]

The conceptualization of a migration industry started in the 90s as an effort to explain the pervasiveness of migrant flows despite nation states' efforts to control and regulate them and beyond explanations based on migrants' personal ties and networks (Goss and Lindquist as cited in Baganha et al., 2006, p.26; Massey et al., 1998, p.44). Like other terminology, the migration industry runs the risk of becoming a buzzword without empirical embeddings. While it has enough conceptual flexibility as to adapt to diverse contexts and situations (e.g. legal/illegal, profit/non-profit, origin/destination, physical/virtual, etc.), its meaning should not be taken for granted and applied indiscriminately.

American sociologist David Spener (2009) made valuable efforts to provide a kind of genealogy of the concept, offering a summary of its development and use. He highlighted the contradictions present when analysts isolate the economic, profit-driven motivations to get involved in someone's migratory project, from the social aspects at stake, such as in-kin favours or ethnic solidarities. His concerns for the absence of a more theoretically solid approach to the migration industry called for more scientific and accurate ways of analysing the phenomenon. However, his conclusion was somehow paralyzing, as he stated it should be better understood as "a figure of speech rather than a fully-developed analytical concept" (2009, p.34).

By contrast, I propose to rescue the analytical potential of the migration industry by extending its area of incidence, instead of putting it aside in some kind of discursive ghetto as a mere "figure of speech" (Spener, 2009, p.34). The first step in this direction is to be accountable of two biases: conceptual and geographical. Conceptually, it has tended to focus on the irregular and informal circuits of access and provision of services (Hernandez

[33] The most recent approach to the migration industry, boosted by the Danish Institute for International Research (DIIS), has focused on the outsourcing of border control management from state and inter-state bodies to commercial agents. The research network on "The Migration Industry and Markets for Managing Migration" (MIM) has identified an increasing presence of private actors involved in facilitating and/or controlling the movement of people across borders, their relations and impacts on migration management policies.

León, 2005). From these services, most are related to physical mobility, such as border crossing (from transportation to paperwork for resident and working permits, shelter and food). Geographic bias implies a longer tradition of research located in the US-Mexican border, referred to both Mexican and other Latin American migrants who aim to arrive in the US.

The seminal pieces of work Spener (2009) reviews on the migration industry are all related to what we may call `the migration industry of physical mobility', composed of his own research on *coyotes* or smugglers in Mexico (Spener, 2005 and 2007 as cited in Spener, 2009), Salt and Stein's (1997) human traffickers in Europe, and Kyle's (2000) *tramitadores* or migration merchants in Ecuador. He also reviewed Hernández León's work which moves slightly beyond the physical mobility bias to mention "(...) the sending of monetary and in-kind remittances, application for and production of authentic and counterfeit documents, legal counselling, and telecommunications services for emigrants and their home communities" (Hernández León, 2005, p.8). My main disagreement with Spener's account is his dismissal of big corporations as part of the migration industry, when he stated that

> (...) most of the enterprises we intend to include in the migration industry are small to medium scale, often informal operations that are geographically dispersed and lack a consciousness of one another existing as a group of enterprises sharing common goals and interests (Spener, 2009, p.7).

I argue that not only are big corporations part of the migration industry, but they also play an important role in migrants' lives, providing services, generating needs, shaping practices and disseminating highly relevant discourses for the study of contemporary migration. In this sense, my approach positions closer to Guarnizo's (2003), who did not use the term "migration industry" but acknowledged the importance of it in his definition of transnational living: "to be transnationally engaged, migrants necessitate a multitude of goods and services supplied by conational and non-conational providers, small producers, as well as large, transnational corporations" (Guarnizo, 2003, p.667).

In electronically mediated societies, it is necessary to think beyond physical mobility as the main service in the migration industry and start taking seriously the

implications of what I define as the migration industry of connectivity services (henceforth MICS): a set of commercial strategies, practices and discourses oriented towards the provision of products and services based on ICT infrastructures, which allow geographically distant people to be connected, that is, to stay in touch on a regular basis. Before focusing on this particular branch of connectivity services, I will briefly propose a general systematization of the migration industry concept.

2.4.2. Rescuing the potential of the migration industry: in search of a conceptual model

In the diffuse but growing literature about the migration industry, I find a paradoxical situation: on the one hand, the topic is recognized as an important cog in the migration wheel. On the other hand, it remains under theorized, as suggested by two scholars who have conducted research in very different geopolitical and academic contexts: US-based Mexican sociologist Rubén Hernández-León (2005) and Australian-based geographer Graeme Hugo (2004).

> After several years of research in the US-Mexican border, Hernández-León (2005) found that "(...) the migration industry does not appear to have created a long term research agenda about the phenomenon or generated a lasting interest in theorizing its role in the social process of international migration. It is a topic woven into migration studies, but has not taken root either as part of a theory or as a concept integrating a broader theoretical framework" (2005, p.7).

In an analysis of the Asian immigration industry, Hugo (2004) pointed out that it is a topic "frequently overlooked or given only passing mention by researchers" (Hugo, 2004, p.94).

> In his opinion: "The neglect of the immigration industry is partly an artefact of methodologies that focus on the migrants, their families, and their communities of origin and destination, but which fail to gather data on recruiters or other informal and formal institutional actors who initiate and facilitate migration" (Hugo, 2004, p.94).

Despite the lack of systematic research, there have been some theoretical elaborations that, taken together, might contribute to the robustness of the migration industry approach. I will refer to each of them below, including elaborations that a) coined the phrase and located it in a meso level of analysis of its own in the interdisciplinary project of migration system theory (Castles & Miller, 2003) and the institutional level in social capital theories (Massey et al., 1998); b) implicitly offered it a place in conceptual models of "linkages in system theory" (Fawcett, 1989); and c) located it as part of "transborder infrastructures" (Sandoval, 2008)

a) *Migration system theory and institutional theories of migration*. The study of migration as a system started in the late 1970s and consolidated in the 1980s, challenging the ways of conceiving the movement of people as unidirectional, economically driven and individually motivated (Boyd, 1989; Fawcett, 1989). The idea of system drew attention to the interconnections and relations between micro and macro levels of analysis, looking at both departure and destination places as well as their prior links, such as "colonization, political influence, trade, investment or cultural ties" (Castles & Miller, 2003,p.26). From this perspective, governments are the macro structures and individuals and their families constitute the micro levels of the system. Castles and Miller (2003) introduced the concept of migration industry as a meso-structure in which "certain individuals, groups or institutions may take on the role of *mediating* between migrants and political or economic institutions" (2003, p.28, *emphasis added*).

In turn, institutional theories of migration analyzed the role of social and economic actors who meet some migrants' demands, from non-profit organizations that provide legal support and shelter, to business enterprises in legal as well as illegal activities. Massey et.al. (1998) reviewed the main theories of international migration and located this institutional level −what they call "migrant-supporting institutions" (Massey et al., 1998, p.44)− within social capital theories. The importance of middle range theories that deal with different levels of institutional arrangements is condensed in the following statement:

> The new economics and world systems theoretical traditions tend to emphasize push factors, while the dual labor market perspective emphasizes pull. Meanwhile, the social network and institutional theories focus on the space between push and

> pull, that is, the *intermediaries* and other connections between origin and destination countries (Teitelbaum as cited in Brettell & Hollifield, 2008, p.56, *emphasis added*).

b) *Linkages in system theory***.** Fawcett (1989) elaborated a conceptual framework to map the "non-people linkages in international migration systems" (1989, p.671) to support the idea that flows of people are not isolated from other kinds of flows, such as "information, goods, services and ideas" (1989, p.673). He identified tangible, regulatory and relational linkages established between states, cultures, family networks and migrant agencies. The latter ones included job recruitment materials and officially channelled remittances, which constitute two referent sites in migration industries worldwide.

c) *Transborder infrastructures***.** Another theoretically inspiring contribution that deals with the migration industry is the concept of "transnational infrastructures" developed by Mexican anthropologist E. Sandoval (2008) after his ethnographic work in the US-Mexican border. He defined such infrastructures as "a means or device for the mobility of people and the circulation of objects (linking different places, institutions and persons in a same social space, which we could call shared space" (Sandoval, 2008, p.45, *my translation*). His distinction between *physical, institutional* and *social* infrastructures offered multiple analytical spaces to place the migration industry. At the *physical* level, infrastructures are nationally developed and maintained, including land and air trajectories as well as technologies, in particular, communication technologies such as telephone landlines and the internet. At the *institutional* level, together with government and associative institutions, he locates business institutions as formal actors that "either in a direct or indirect way, are useful for flows to exist and for links to occur; they are illustrated by those dedicated to the transport of people by bus, telephonic communication, money transfers, touristic tours or flight companies" (Sandoval 2008, p.47, *my translation*).

The migration industry involves a diverse and vast array of activities, sometimes complementary but others contradictory and overlapping. In order to classify them, I propose to locate different businesses or industries associated with migration in a matrix of hard, soft and mixed values for four key dimensions: legal status, target, impact and area of

incidence, as shown in Table 2.2. Profitability is not considered explicitly here as it is a transversal issue and usually difficult to trace.[34] This model inspires from previous research, adapting, discussing and reformulating other scholars' findings.

Table 2.2. Matrix of the migration industry.

	HARD	MIXED	SOFT
Legal status	illegal, irregular, informal	legal and illegal	legal, regular, formal
Target	migrant only		migrant and the general public
Impact	high (it has determinant influences on migratory projects)	medium	low (it complements migratory projects)
Area of incidence	decision-making, border crossing,	transit stage, arrival at destination	settlement, return
Examples	smugglers, trafickers, coyotes, recruitment organizations	government management offices, enter immigration advisors, **money sending outlets**,banks, travel agents, **communication businesses**, ethnic media, the ethnic food economy	tax refund offices, recruitment organizations, lawyers, business consultancies, **money sending outlets**, banks, travel agents, **communication businesses**, ethnic media, the ethnic food economy

Source: own elaboration.

Legal status defines the regulatory framework in which the activities are carried out and has been a defining aspect in the theorization of the migration industry literature. This has covered both legal and illegal activities. The legal frameworks are exclusive competence of regulatory bodies territorially organized (usually at the national and regional levels) and contain general ethical principles inspired in constitutions and international human rights declarations.

The *target* distinguishes between activities oriented towards migrant people exclusively, other ones that consider migrants as one segment among others in their whole commercial strategy and those that include migrants in the general public, without distinction. The target is usually a twilight zone because there are different business models that go from the specialization on some migrants' nationalities and/or regions to the most general strategies that do not distinguish origin.

[34] See Spener's (2009) discussion on the conflation of profits with revenues and the difficulties in separating economic from social benefits inherent to activities such as *coyotajes*.

Impact refers to the degree of involvement in people or groups' decision to migrate. Although my approach is not concerned with causal effects, in this model I want to differentiate the hard migration industry that fosters migration, from the soft migration business that complements the migrant experience, facilitating it with different resources to keep ties once the decision to migrate has been taken. The former is exemplified by labor recruiters or guest workers programmes that offer temporary work permits to cover a labor force imbalance, like the *Bracero Program* that promoted Mexican workers in the US in the 1940s (Calavita, 2010; Craig, 1971), the German opening of borders in the 1970s and many other cases covered in Cornelius (2004) and elsewhere. Another example are the national programmes that "export" workers to obtain surplus remittances, such as the case of Philippine domestic workers (Parreñas, 2000).

Neither the dimensions nor the hard-soft distinctions are clear cut but have a grey, intermediate zone in which overlappings occur. For example, a lawyer can specialize in providing migrants with legal advice since their arrival to a destination country but she can continue her tasks in relation to paperwork needed during settlement (nationality requests, permit renewals, family reunification, etc.). A travel agency that sell air tickets within the legal framework can be also involved in falsification of documents and human trafficking networks. Thus the model should be taken just as an orientation device, too schematic to describe the multiple edges of the migration industry.

It is helpful to locate my focus of interest: money wire and telecom corporations, as paradigmatic examples of the migration industry of connectivity services. According to the proposed model, these corporations are closer to a soft version of the migration industry, for they operate within specific national legal frameworks[35] and they play a complementary role in migrants' projects, that is, their services are offered and delivered after people's arrival and settlement in the destination place, in this case Spain. They neither foster nor stop migrants' physical mobility, but offer the infrastructure to manage transnational living

[35] In Spain, these laws are the *Ley 32/2003 General de de Telecomunicaciones* and the *Ley 16/2009 de servicios de pago.* While both are circumscribed to the Spanish territory, they follow the European regulations, as mentioned in Chapter 3.

(Guarnizo, 2003) by connecting distant people through voice communication and money flows. In Massey et al.'s (1998) terminology, they do not *initiate* migration but might help to *perpetuate* it.

To sum up, the migration industry approach proves useful to get a broader picture of the object of study, in both general and specific ways. In general, it introduces a new powerful actor in the analysis of migration: the private actor that sets up businesses and profit from the movement of people, even if this implies working at the margins of the law. Private actors are part of a meso level of analysis that takes intermediaries seriously, without ignoring the micro level of migrants' lives and the macro level of national, regional and transnational bodies. This uncovers another dimension of international migration. Apart from a legal category defined by national states and a unique lived experience defined by individuals profiles and their contexts, being a migrant in contemporary capitalist societies has become a market niche defined by private agents, a consumer experience that makes migrants a new target of commercial messages, and the object of cultural representations designed and disseminated from a market/economic logic. Indeed, the rationale behind migration business is that "growing international migration has made migrants an important and highly profitable type of consumer" (Garapich, 2008, p.737). Specifically, the migration industry approach enriches the analysis of migrants' connectivity practices by considering different aspects of the services' chain: from the marketing strategies that sell services as well as lifestyles and values for transnational living, to the individual and collective strategies end-users have to make ends meet.

The migration industry of connectivity services

At the dawn of the 21st century, when the age of migration coincides with the network society, intermediaries of transnational connectivity such as telecom providers and money transfer services have become the vertex of the migration industry of connectivity services (MICS), as part of a process of "professionalization of migrants' connections" (Ros et al., 2007, p.33) in which private actors play an important role.

Despite specificities in the essence of the services offered, their market performance and regulatory frames, I consider telecoms and money transfers agencies under a similar analytic lens that highlights their similarities as important resources for migrants' transnational connectivity. At this point, it would be useful to distinguish between infrastructure and practices, in order to trace the logics and resources different actors have –mainly corporations/service providers, and migrants/service users–. According to Sandoval (2008), this can be done by looking at the means each actor has –infrastructures– and what they do –practices–. Thus infrastructures are mobile phones, SIM cards, computers, bank accounts and money transfer accounts as well as family networks, while practices are making phone calls, writing emails and sending money, to mention but a few, as summarized in the Table 2.3 below.

Table 2.3. Actors, infrastructures and practices of the migration industry of connectivity services.

	Actors		
	Corporations/providers		*Migrants/users*
	Telecoms	Money transfer agencies	
Infrastructures	mobile networks	distribution network	family networks, bank accounts, mobile phone devices and numbers
Practices	marketing mix (4P)*, competition, regulatory frameworks, market shares		remittances, voice communication, SMS, Bluetooth, missed calls, SIM card multiple ownership, etc.

*4P stands for product, price, promotion and placement. Source: Own elaboration.

Apart from being important resources for migrants' transnational connectivity, (voice) communication and remittances share an ambiguous condition of visibility/invisibility in different research fields this work draws on. On the one hand, they are very visible practices in developmental studies. On the other hand, there is invisibility of the private actors that mediate migrants' transnational practices, which literature –with some exceptions– seems to have focused more on the individual and community levels of analysis. While this is extremely important, I argue private actors need also to be considered because, to a great extent, they have the power to shape, enable or obstruct the menu of connectivity or connectivity repertoire. By menu of connectivity I mean the options

available to keep in touch at a distance (mainly the technologies, knowledge and budgets) according to personal backgrounds and family contexts at origin and destination societies.

The importance of the MICS in migrants' transnational connectivity is sometimes suggested in the literature that deals with how migrants cope with distance in maintaining social relationships, as we saw in the section dedicated to TFS. It is not usually referred to with this terminology -migration industry- but there are explicit and implicit references to the difficulties and satisfactions faced in different contexts.

> In this context, Mahler (2001) stated that much research on transnational migration "has emphasized the *kinds* of ties people maintain despite corporal separation (...) *how* people accomplish these tasks across borders has been less developed in the literature, although authors do acknowledge that modern telecommunications technologies have facilitated communication, particularly in comparison to the tools available to earlier generations of migrants" (Mahler, 2001, p.583).

The underdeveloped *how* of connectivity has different levels, and many of them have been already covered by the research done since Mahler's observation, but it is still necessary to go deeper on migrants' access to particular infrastructures to succeed in these practices and the commercial interests around them. Chapter 4 develops the analytic toolbox to understand the articulations of knowledge, texts and practices of migrant trans/national connectivity, combining Cultural Studies and Critical Discourse Studies. Before this, next chapter offers an overview of the contextual specificities in which this research took place.

2.5 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has put together a series of interdisciplinary theoretical arguments to understand the points of convergence and divergence between the two main actors of the current research: migrant users of mobile phones (MP) and money transfers (MT) services and multinational corporations that provide them. Regarding convergence, they are both actors of globalisation which move across national borders to minimize risks and maximize resources, creating "transnational social spaces" (Pries, 2001) through flows of money, information, people and imaginaries, either from below (at the trans/national household

level), or from above (at the corporate level). This does not mean they are immune to the influences of nation states, which condition much of their actions through diverse regulatory frameworks.

However, corporations and migrants have differing positions and levels of access to resources within national and global socio-economic power structures. I proposed to consider such differences in the broader context of contemporary globalization as marked by three interrelated processes: mobility, connectivity and the market societies. I drew on Ros´ (2010) adaptation of Held et al.´s (1999) four `spatio-temporal´ dimensions of globalisation –extensity, intensity, velocity and impact– to map the complex terrain of migrant connectivity, which results I will present in the analytic Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8.

Apart from drawing on previous theories, I have proposed new concepts to tackle what I consider new conceptual problems, in particular: how can we describe and make sense of migrants' multiple belongings and multisited connections? Which economic interests have emerged around their practices? The former question inspired my elaboration of the trans/national. I wanted to acknowledge the debates on migrant transnationalism (Glick Schiller, 1997; Vertovec, 2004, 2009) but also to take some distance from them in order to propose a more specific term to address issues of migrant connectivity. By rewriting it with a slash, I aimed to reflect how diverse actors emphasize each part of the composed word differently: migrants according to their individual experiences of connectivity (both local, "trans" and "national"), enterprises according to their business interests (the "trans" particle), and nation states according to their nationally biased interests (the "national").

The latter question implied looking at the market society and highlighted the process of commodification of people´s lives, where the provision of basic services – including connectivity – has undergone continuous processes of liberalisation, deregulation and privatisation. The outcome of these processes is contradictory: on the one hand, market competition has helped to decrease costs and facilitate end users' access, but on the other hand, it has put private interests and their profit-driven goals in a position of power over people´s communicative needs. In this scenario, I proposed the term "migration industry of

connectivity services" (MICS) as a critical conceptual tool to deal with the specific commercial strategies that target migrants´ management of relationships at both local and global levels, in particular, through MP and MT.

3. Localizing the Research Context: Migration and Connectivity Services in Spain

"Bueno, ahora como decimos en árabe,
el mundo es un pueblo... 1000km es un metro...
Todo es cercano si hablas por teléfono" Said (interviewee)

When looking at migrant connectivity in a particular spatio-temporal setting, it is necessary to consider at least these three main dimensions: migratory, technological and market. Firstly, the *migratory* dimension considers the evolution of migratory flows in Spain and, in particular, Catalonia, as well as the historical and socio-economic links with the origin societies of the interviewed migrants from Ecuador and Morocco. Secondly, the *technological* dimension takes into account the basic indicators of the information society (ICT infrastructures, digital access and use). Although this information is quite limited (macro-quantitative data based on nation states and measured against Western standards), it does offer some general and comparable overviews of the levels of adoption and penetration of ICT based resources in each country. Thirdly, the *market* dimension considers the commercial development of specific connectivity services, in this case, the MP and MT markets, mainly in Spain.

3.1. The Migratory Dimension: Contextualizing Moroccans and Ecuadorians in Catalonia

The history of immigration to Spain is relatively new and quite intense. It was initially classified into three periods: 1) before 1985, 2) between 1986 and 1999, and 3) from 2000 on (Cachón Rodríguez, 2002). At the time of writing this dissertation, however, we can identify a fourth period in which the so-called migratory boom has reversed, leading to an increasingly negative migratory balance in which the amount of people who leave the country, exceeds those who arrive (INE, 2011a). Like most countries in Western Europe, Spain currently hosts a great amount of immigrant populations. In comparison with other

European countries like Switzerland, France and Germany it may not be so numerous. However, the Spanish context presents a distinctive situation for the short period in which these demographic changes have occurred, turning it into the European country with the highest immigration rates in relation to its population size (Herm, 2008, p.2). The following table shows the estimated variations in its annual rate of migrant stock:[36]

Table 3.1. Migration Stock in Spain. Country profile 1990-2010. *Source*: United Nations, 2011.

Years	Annual rate of change of the migrant stock (%)
1990-1995	4.5
1995-2000	10.4
2000-2005	19.3
2005-2010	6.5

In a time span of barely 20 years, the country has changed its historical condition of emigration country, before 1985, into a vivid example of immigration country, a situation that lasted for ten years (1995-2005). The effects of the financial crisis since then has caused a sharp decrease in the number of immigrants arriving in Spain and a parallel increase in the amount of Spanish people leaving the country (including foreigners who return to their societies of origin or move to other wealthier countries) as can be seen in Figure 3.1 below.

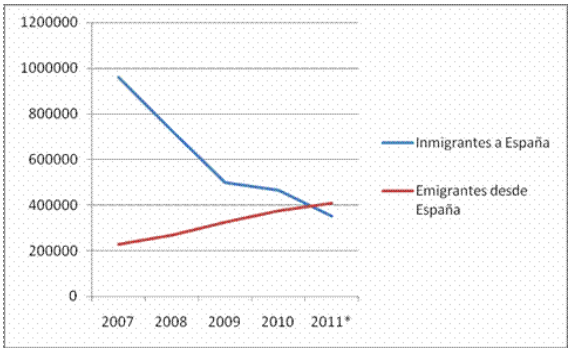


Figure 3.1. Evolution of immigration to and emigration from Spain between 2007 and 2011. Source: INE (2011b).

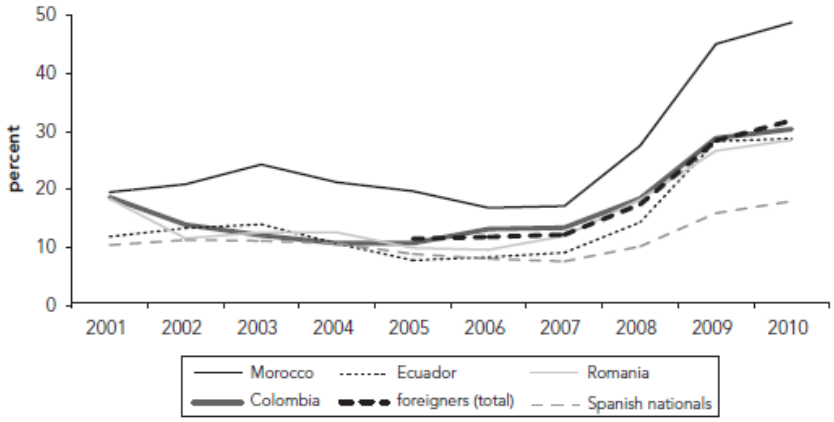
[36] Migrant stock is "the number of people born in a country other than that in which they live" (United Nations, 2009).

Despite its decrease, foreign people in Spain still represents the 12,1% of the total population (INE, 2012).[37] This means that at least 5.7 million foreign people currently live in the country, 42.1% of which are European Union citizens.

Foreign population in Spain constitutes a heterogeneous category that groups people from very diverse national origins, ethnic backgrounds and socio-economic profiles. Statistical data offers information on basic variables such as nationality, country of birth, age, generation and sex, drawing a rough but informative picture of contemporary migrants' profile. Thanks to this data, we know they are a young population, with 59.9% of foreign people aged between 16 and 44 (INE, 2012). This period in life is especially relevant to integrate to the labor force and to contribute to the country's birth rates. In general, sex differences were not very marked (51,9% of men) except when the variable origin was taken into account: this revealed that African and Asian migrant flows were more masculinized, with 62.2% and 59.5% of men respectively (INE, 2011b). Women were more numerous in groups from Central America and the Caribbean, and non EU-27 countries (INE, 2011b).

Apart from being affected by the same negative effects of the economic downturn who suffered native people (e.g. abusive mortgages and indebtedness), migrants must face extra difficulties for the fact of being migrants. In the labor sector, they tend to occupy precarious jobs in the informal economy. Not only might these jobs be underpaid and hardly regulated, but they are prone to succumb to unstable economic situations such as the speculative business of the real state crisis. A good example of this situation is foreign people´s unemployment rate, which according to recent official data it was 35.76%, 13 points above Spanish people´s (INE, 2012). If differentiated by nationality, Moroccan people were the most affected, while Latin Americans and the rest of foreigners remained in difficult but better positions, as can be observed in Figure 3.2 below.

[37] This data is based on the biggest population register in Spain, the *Padrón Municipal,* which despite being quite encompassing, might be outdated (Rinken, 2003, p.155) or inaccurate, since "significant proportions of people were not where the *Padrón* said they were" (Reher & Requena, 2009, p.259).



Source: Authors' calculations based on microdata from the Labour Force Surveys ("Encuesta de Población Activa") for 2001–10. Microdata available at http://www.ine.es/prodyser/micro_epa.htm.

Figure 3.2. Foreigners' unemployment rates in Spain by nationality, 2001-2010. Source: Roig & Recaño-Valverde (2012, p.263).

By national origin, the five most numerous groups of foreign population come from Rumania, Morocco, UK, Ecuador and Colombia, as shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2. Foreign population by 1st. January 2012 (provisional data).

Country of origin	Number of people	% on the total
Total	5.711.040	100,0
Rumanía	895.970	15,7
Marruecos	783.137	13,7
Reino Unido	397.535	7,0
Ecuador	306.380	5,4
Colombia	244.670	4,3
Alemania	196.729	3,4
Italia	191.713	3,4
Bolivia	184.706	3,2
Bulgaria	176.216	3,1
China	175.813	3,1

Source: INE (2012)

At the national level, Moroccans used to be the most numerous group of non-European national origin until 2008, when it was surpassed by Romanians. Now they are in the second place, representing 13.7% of the whole foreign population, as we can see in Table 3.2. Together with Ecuador (4th place, 5.4%), they are the two most numerous groups of non-European origin. UK (7%) and Germany (3.4%) are mainly composed of ageing

population who decided to live overseas after retirement (King, Warnes, & Williams, 2000).

The predominance of Rumanian migrants at the national level is slightly different at the Catalan level, where Moroccans are still the most numerous group, as can be seen in Table 3.3, which lists the percentages of the first seven countries of origin of foreign people living in Catalonia.

Table 3.3. Foreign residents in Catalonia according to their country of nationality.

Country of origin	% of foreign population
Morocco	**22,6**
Romania	9,7
Ecuador	**6,96**
Italy	4,45
China	4,3
Colombia	3,9
Bolivia	3,5

Source: own elaboration based on the Statistical Yearbook of Catalonia, (IDESCAT, 2011a).

The numeric importance of Moroccan and Ecuadorian people was a strong motivation to focus my research on them, together with their diverse migratory histories and profiles, each of which constituted interesting scenarios to track experiences with MP and MT services. As we will see, apart from being culturally different to Ecuadorians (e.g. in language, religion, and clothing), Moroccan migrant flows are older in time and have tended to be initiated by men who might reunify their families. In contrast, Ecuadorian migrant flows became particularly important at the end of the 1990s and were started mainly by women. The strong presence of consumers from these national origins in the Spanish market has turned them into the target of various MP and MT companies, offering rich empirical material for visual and textual analysis. Before the sections dedicated to specific information on each national group, I will briefly refer to the context of arrival, Catalonia, located in the East region of the Iberian Peninsula, as shown in Figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3. Location of Catalonia in the Iberian peninsula. Source: Wikipedia 2012.

As one of the 17 autonomous communities that compose the Kingdom of Spain, Catalonia has experienced many of the emigration and immigration trends occurred at the national level, but has also had its own specificities: "Unlike Spain as a whole, Catalonia can be considered an immigrant context in the last century" (Feixa et al., 2010, p.18). Indeed this region has received hundred thousand internal migrants, mainly from the South of Spain, a trend that intensified during the 1960s, after the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and the consolidation of Franco's dictatorship. This first phase in the history of contemporary immigration in Catalonia was mainly from rural areas to fill in industrial positions (Candel, 1967). The second phase, in the 80s, included small amounts of international migration, mostly Latin American and sub-Saharan Africans exiles from Senegal and Gambia; the third phase started in the 90s with the increasing presence of Moroccan people (Feixa et al., 2010; Vives, 2005). A fourth phase can be delineated from 2000 until the present day, when 15.8% of the Catalan population has foreign origin.[38]

> This last phase was characterized by what Spanish Anthropologist Núria Vives has summarized as "three fundamental changes: the social effect of a criminalizing discourse of immigration created by the government of the Popular Party (PP),[39] that causes the increase of social racism; a change in the composition of the foreign population (Ecuador, Colombia, Argentina and Rumania become the most numerous collectives after Morocco; and a rapid increase in the amount of foreign

[38] In 2011, Catalonia had 7,539,618 people, including 1,195,664 with foreign origin (IDESCAT 2011).

[39] It is worth mentioning that contemporary anti-immigration discourse has been produced by various political actors apart from PP. In Catalonia, there is the extreme right wing party "Platform for Catalonia" (*Plataforma per Catalunya*), which main slogan is "Those from the house are first" (*Primer els de casa*). In a very different historical context, during the 1930s, both left and right political thinkers defenders of Catalan nationalism had positioned themselves against uncontrolled internal migration (especially from Andalucía), if it threatened the essence of Catalan identity.

> population, as a consequence of both migratory flows and the sudden visibilization of people who used to be in irregular legal situation and now are included in the local authorities' register" (Vives, 2005, my translation).

Regarding the legal framework, immigration is regulated at both the national level (article 149.1.2 of the Spanish Constitution) and the autonomous one (article 13.4 of Statute of Catalan Autonomy). In 1985, there was the first Spanish law to regulate the rights and duties of the foreign population in the country, known as the *Ley de Extranjería* (LO7/85) or Immigration Act. This law has suffered various changes, in parallel with the alternation in government of the two main political parties, the Spanish Workers' Socialist Party (PSOE) and the Popular Party (PP). There were two different laws in 2000,[40] and a fourth version of it in 2003.[41] There have also been six processes of regularization[42] in order to provide undocumented migrants with residence and work permits, being Moroccans and Ecuadorians the most favoured migrant groups in this regard (Kostova Karaboytcheva, 2006, p.6).

The continuous changes and updates in the legislation on immigration constitute a material reality that reflect more complex processes going on in the Spanish society, namely, its significant symbolic weight in people's imaginaries and its importance as a source of concern, debate, agreement and disagreement between actors at different levels of cultural, political and economic structures. However, it is difficult to really know how different profiles of Spanish and Catalan people have felt about immigration at different historical moments and what factors have influenced their attitudes. The Centre for Sociological Research in Spain (CIS) has been conducting a monthly survey to measure public opinion on diverse issues, based on a sample of approximately 2500 people. One of the questions asks respondents about the most urgent problems in Spain. Answers have varied according to the social, economic and political context each time:

[40] LO4 approved by PSOE majority, and LO8 approved by PP majority.

[41] After the victory of the PSOE in the national elections, it agreed with PP on a new Immigration Act, LO14/2003.

[42] Regularizations occurred between 1985 and 1986, in 1991, 1996, 2000, 2001 and 2005.

> During many years, *unemployment* and *terrorism* were the main problems Spanish people identified in the first and second place respectively of the public agenda (…) Since 2000 (…) *immigration* started to climb positions (…) it was from 2005 on when immigration occupied (…) the second position, above terrorism (Rodriguez Díaz, 2006, my translation).

By October 2012, *unemployment* continued to be the main problem reported by the survey, a topic chosen by 77.9% of respondents (CIS, 2012). However, *terrorism* and *immigration* were in very low positions in the list, widely surpassed by *economic problems* (43,4 %), *politicians* (30.5%), *the health system* (10,1%), *corruption and fraud* (9.2%), *education* (8.3%) and many others (CIS, 2012).

The Spanish society in general, including the Catalan, has implicitly stratified immigrants according to their very diverse national origins, in a process in which past and contemporary imaginaries intermingled with the economic crisis, electoral opportunism and xenophobic feelings. This is reflected in language use when the choice of words (e.g. foreigner, immigrant, ethnic minority, etc.) conveys very different meanings and attitudes.

> In Catalonia, "the term 'foreigner', which at first did not have a pejorative meaning (there is a tendency for it to be associated with people coming from 'rich' countries, including EC[43] countries, whereas the term 'immigrant' is associated with 'poor foreigners'), is substituted in everyday language by a more neutral expression: *nouvinguts* ('newly arrived'). When they are mostly adult men and especially adult women who 'help' (replacing those jobs not taken up by native citizens), the image of a *nouvingut* is generally positive; however, when their relatives begin to make use of educational and social services and begin to compete for space and resources (especially with working-class Catalans, including descendants of immigrants to southern Spain) this positive valuation becomes more ambivalent (Feixa et al., 2010, p.24, my translation).

Although immigrants in general have been discursively built as a problem by many politicians and mass media approaches, there are different degrees of tolerance, stereotyping and preferences that the destination society projects on them and that conditions immigrants' chances to fully integrate economically, politically and socially. For instance, those who travel from Africa to Spain are popularly seen as poor, desperate, ignorant, even invaders who arrive in precarious boats (known as *pateras*) without enough

[43] TN: EC stands for European Commission, in the original, CE for *Comisión Europea*.

money and identity card. They speak diverse languages, have other cultural habits and believe in different gods; moreover, they embody otherness[44] in their own skin colors, hair styles and clothing. Latin Americans, on the contrary, embody another range of otherness because most speak Spanish and they arrive by plane with tourist visas. In an analysis of the representation of Latin American immigrants in the Spanish mainstream press, however, Peruvian journalist Jessica Retis identified dramatic differences in the portrayal of different national origins, namely Ecuadorians, Colombians and Argentineans:

> From Ecuadorians, what is made more visible are some socio-economic conditions like their situation of labor exploitation or their cultural underdevelopment, seen with compassionate paternalism by the Spanish gaze; from Colombians, it is more visible the violence in the news of both origin country and immigrants: hired killers, drug dealers, criminals and offenders, prostitution and other issues of social conflict that are seen with horror and distrust by the Spanish gaze. In the case of Argentinean immigrants, however, (...) they are seen as closer, they are returned Spaniards, or their sons or grandsons, and they are seen with a fraternal and familiar look that rescues the nature of a depressed middle class due to the crisis, or artists and intellectuals expelled by political impositions" (Retis, 2004, p.1, my translation)

The rapid changes brought by immigration in the Spanish demographic landscape have obliged the local population to contend with the complexities involved in encountering *others*, that is, culturally and physically different people (Ahmed, 2000; Mahler, 2013). Many of the foreign people who arrived in Spain, however, have had either ancestors or close relatives who lived under the Spanish rule, as colonies. This is the case for most Latin American people, which countries of origin used to belong to the Kingdom of Spanish for five centuries, since 1492. More recent in time, Moroccan territories were also colonized by Spain and France; in particular, the northern part of the country used to be `the Spanish protectorate of Morocco' between 1912 and 1956. Colonies and their respective metropolitan states have generated complex systems for the circulation and exchange of people, lands, capital and cultural goods, usually in unequal terms, in which the most

[44] Otherness is an anthropologically defined condition according to which an *Other* occupies a disempowered subject category in opposition to which a dominant subjectivity is constructed, such as "the slave to the master, the woman to the man, the black person to the white one, etc." (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009, p.361).

powerful actor –the metropolis– has enjoyed great advantages. In the Moroccan case, Maghreb Economist Larbi Talha conceptualized migratory flows in terms of a "colonial model" (as cited in López García, 1997, p.62) according to which colonized people's movements will depend on the needs of the colonizer powers. This asymmetric circulation of resources can be extended to most colonial situations.

> For instance, Ecuadorians have suffered "constant deportations that, in most cases, are not made public because they could evidence the fallacy of the discourse of power disseminated by most of the Spanish press about the `historical and cultural ties´ that unite Spain with Latin America and the need to keep them through practices of [international] cooperation" (Pedone, 2005, p.137, my translation).

Besides their common experiences as Third World countries, their histories as Spanish ex-colonies and consequent postcolonial subjects in a contemporary metropolis where racism and xenophobia have been round the corner, Moroccans and Ecuadorians constitute a heterogeneous conglomerate of historical, cultural, economic and political specificities, including their migratory trajectories in Spain. There are differences in the stability of migrant flows across time too. For instance, between 2010 and 2011, the number of Moroccan people living in Spain did not change much, while in that same period Ecuadorians descended 15,1% (INE, 2011b). In the Catalonian region, Figure 3.3 shows the fluctuations of both migrant flows throughout ten years. The presence of Moroccan migrants have increased steadily (except from a temporary stagnation in 2006) while Ecuadorians' graph shows an intense growth in the first four years, reaching a peak in 2004 and then stabilizing after that year in around 80.000 people.

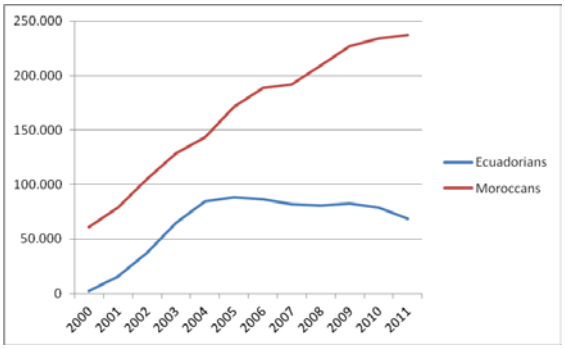


Figure 3.4. Evolution of Moroccan and Ecuadorian presence in Catalonia, between 2000 and 2011. Source: IDESCAT (2011b).

When looking at the differences between Ecuadorians and Moroccans' processes of integration[45] in Spain and in particular, in Catalonia, we realize the weight of cultural differences, especially of religion. Although the latter come from a geopolitically close area – the Mediterranean region– and have a longer history of settlement in Spain, their Muslim traditions have never been fully accepted by the destination society. On the contrary, Ecuadorians have come with a cultural background already adapted to Spanish traditions: it was a consequence of the colonial legacy that imposed the Spanish language and the Catholic religion to the indigenous societies, after the arrival of the first `conquerors' in the XVI century (Benites Vinueza, 1986). Although they are not seen as equals and they might also suffer from discrimination, their presence in the Spanish society is better tolerated than Muslim origin migrants, though never fully accepted.

Like in other parts of the Western world, part of the Spanish public opinion tend to dismiss Muslim traditions; for instance, many people oppose to the presence of Mosques in the Spanish territory and even to the contemporary multicultural realities of the public space (Astor, 2012). This situation has aggravated after 11th September 2001, when radical political Islamists crashed the Twin Towers, in New York city, one of the symbols of the US global financial power, and tried to attack the Pentagon, the headquarters of the US Department of Defence. It followed a global "war on terror" boosted by the US government and supported by most Western countries. Spain lived this process especially intensively after the bombing of a train station in Madrid in 11th March 2004. The negative sentiment towards Muslim people, however, had started long before; these events just helped to intensify them. Almost 20 years ago, Spanish Historian Bernabé López García (1993) observed the paradoxes of European democracies towards immigrants and Muslim citizens:

> The existence of a European Islam (…) is nowadays one of the structural phenomena in the Europe of Maastricht, a borderless Europe that however has double levels of citizenship, in which extra-EC citizens, though incorporated in a stable manner in the economic life, remain excluded from political life and badly integrated to the social life (López García 1993, p. 35).

[45] I use the term *integration* from a critical perspective, as proposed by Li (2003): "Integration is about incorporating newcomers to a democratic process of participation and negotiation that shapes the future, and not about conforming and confining people to pre-established outcomes based on the status quo" (2003, p.12).

He also warned about the dangerous consequences of some news coverages on undocumented migration from the Maghreb when Spain entered the Economic European Community in 1986:

> The announcement of the increase in the unemployment rate and the psychological effects that go together with measures of economic adjustment, will undoubtedly have some influence on the collective perception of the immigration phenomena (López García 1993, p.24).

Various deficiencies in Spanish journalist practices have been identified throughout the years. Some issues are being gradually improved,[46] although crisis times have undermined much progress in this regard. One big problem is the lack of contextualisation of migratory processes, "so that the problems of the Third World or illegal immigrants are presented to the Spanish society without linking these to reflections about the causes that generated those problems in the first place" (ter Wal (ed.), 2002, p.199). In relation to this, there is little awareness and/or sensitivity towards immigrants, either victimized or criminalized, and few people of migrant origin access mainstream media to speak either as professionals (journalist, experts) or as protagonists of the news. After this general contextualization of migrant processes in Catalonia, I dedicate next sections to summarize the histories of arrival and settlement of each of the groups I focused on: Ecuadorians and Moroccans.

3.1.1. Ecuadorians in Spain: a recent and intense story

The Republic of Ecuador is located in the Northern-West region of South America (see Figure 3.4), it has 13 million inhabitants and 8.3% of the population lives in another country. According to the *Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011, the t*op destination countries are Spain, the US, Italy, Venezuela, Chile, Canada, Colombia, Germany, the UK, and Panama (World Bank, 2011).

[46] One recent initiative has been boosted by Fundación Bertelsmann (2011).

Figure 3.5. Location of Ecuador in America

Like in any other migrant flow, causes of Ecuadorian migration to Spain are multiple and vary across families and individuals. However, there are particular push and pull factors that have been already identified in the literature. For some time, the US used to be the favourite destiny of Ecuadorian migrants, in particular young men from rural areas, mainly from the South-Central highlands, between 1960 and 1997 (Gratton, 2007; Kyle, 2003). These pioneers' flows constituted the first transnational networks that gradually helped to create a "migratory culture" (Pedone, 2005, p.134) which resources in information and social capital would prove useful for future would-be migrants (Pedone, 2005; Ramírez Gallegos & Ramírez, 2005).

The deep economic and political crisis that Ecuador underwent during the 1990s motivated many people to leave the country, this time with important differences in the volume, destination and profile of migrants in comparison with earlier flows. By 1992, the country had already entered a stage of pre-crisis marked by increasing indebtedness and rampant privatization of public services, accompanied by a dramatic deterioration in the living conditions of big segments of the population, in particular the middle and low socio-economic classes. These trends worsened during the 90s period, marked by a host of problems: "the continuation of structural reforms and the process of liberalization in the middle of high degrees of political conflict (...) public corruption and the fragility of democratic institutions" (Ramírez Gallegos & Ramírez, 2005, p.47). However, it was not until "the collapse of the banks (...) in 1999 (...) that the migration phenomenon grows and consolidates as a privileged strategy of individuals and families in order to face the chaotic situation in the country" (Ramírez Gallegos & Ramírez, 2005, p.47).

The US lost attraction as a migratory destiny due to legislation restrictions and the increasing risks and costs of clandestine journeys (Jokisch & Pribilsky, 2002). In parallel, during the early 90s Spain had become a good option: there were bi-lateral agreements between Spanish and Ecuadorian governments that facilitated the arrival[47] and acquisition of further rights (Gómez Ciriano & Tornos Cubillo, 2007), and the Spanish economy was growing and in need of workforce. In particular, there was a demand of "cheap labor force, low skilled and preferably feminine; this suggests a tendency towards the feminisation of Ecuadorian migration in Spain" (Ramirez Gallegos & Ramirez, 2005, p.70-71).

In only three years, the number of Ecuadorians leaving their country multiplied almost three times, from 45.332 in 1998 to 148.607 in 2001, producing what Ramirez Gallegos and Ramirez (2005) have called a "stampede" and Pedone a "massive flow" (Pedone, 2005, p.135).

Ecuadorians' arrival in Spain is relatively recent and it can be analyzed following four stages between 1989 and 2005: "a preliminary stage (until 1994), a development stage (between 1994 and 1998), a peak (1998-2001) and finally, a stage of settlement and stability (from 2001 on)" (Gómez Ciriano & Tornos Cubillo, 2007, p.19). The following figure shows the evolution of Ecuadorian emigrant flows across time.

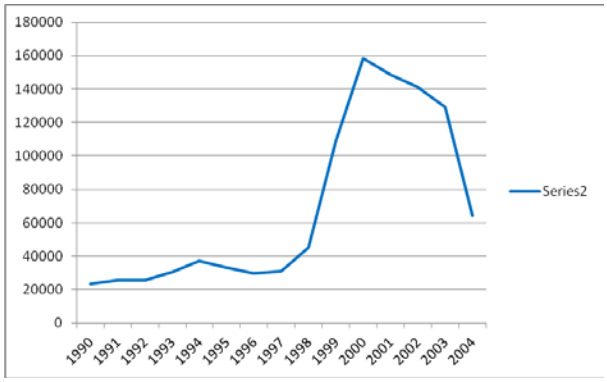


Figure 3.6. Evolution of Ecuadorian emigration. Own elaboration based on Ramirez Gallegos and Ramirez 2005.

[47] For example, Ecuadorians did not require a tourist visa to enter the country (Gómez Ciriano & Tornos Cubillo, 2007, p.27).

A major difference between these stages is the profile of migrants: until the 80s, they belonged to "academic, consular and business areas. On the contrary, the "new Ecuadorian emigration was economically motivated and of low-middle socio-economic class" (Gómez Ciriano & Tornos Cubillo, 2007, p.24). Before 1994, most Ecuadorians who migrated towards Spain came from two provinces: "Pichincha (almost 34%) and Loja (almost 30%) (...) and women predominated notably over men (2 women for every man)" (Gómez Ciriano & Tornos Cubillo, 2007, p.24).

Argentinian Geographer based in Barcelona, Claudia Pedone (2005), described that the first Ecuadorians who arrived in the 90s did so in Murcia to work in agriculture. Then they spread to big cities, mainly Madrid and Barcelona, where women could easily find jobs in the domestic service. Their role in contemporary migrant flows has been crucial, since they have become "the *first link of the migratory chain*. Later on, they would be the ones who bring their husband, then a network of brothers, brothers in law, sons in law, nephews, cousins and finally, sons and daughters" (Pedone, 2005, p.116, my translation).

Another characteristic of Ecuadorian migratory flows in Spain is their different regional origins. As it usually happens with most national origins in destination societies, there is a tendency to homogenize all Ecuadorians without taking into account the various ethnic groups (Gómez Ciriano & Tornos Cubillo, 2007; Pedone, 2005). A major distinction in origin exists between people from different geographical regions, namely the seaside (e.g. provinces of Guayas, Manabí and Esmeraldas) and the highlands (e.g. provinces of Pichincha, Azuay and Loja), as shown in Figure 3.6. Historically, both groups have been confronted by cultural, political and productive differences that persist until today. However, Pedone has observed that such differences have gradually dissolved in Spain "(...) in order to reconstruct or reinvent their "Ecuadoriness" in an international migratory context that proved adverse as a group constituted as a "social minority" (Pedone, 2005, p.136).

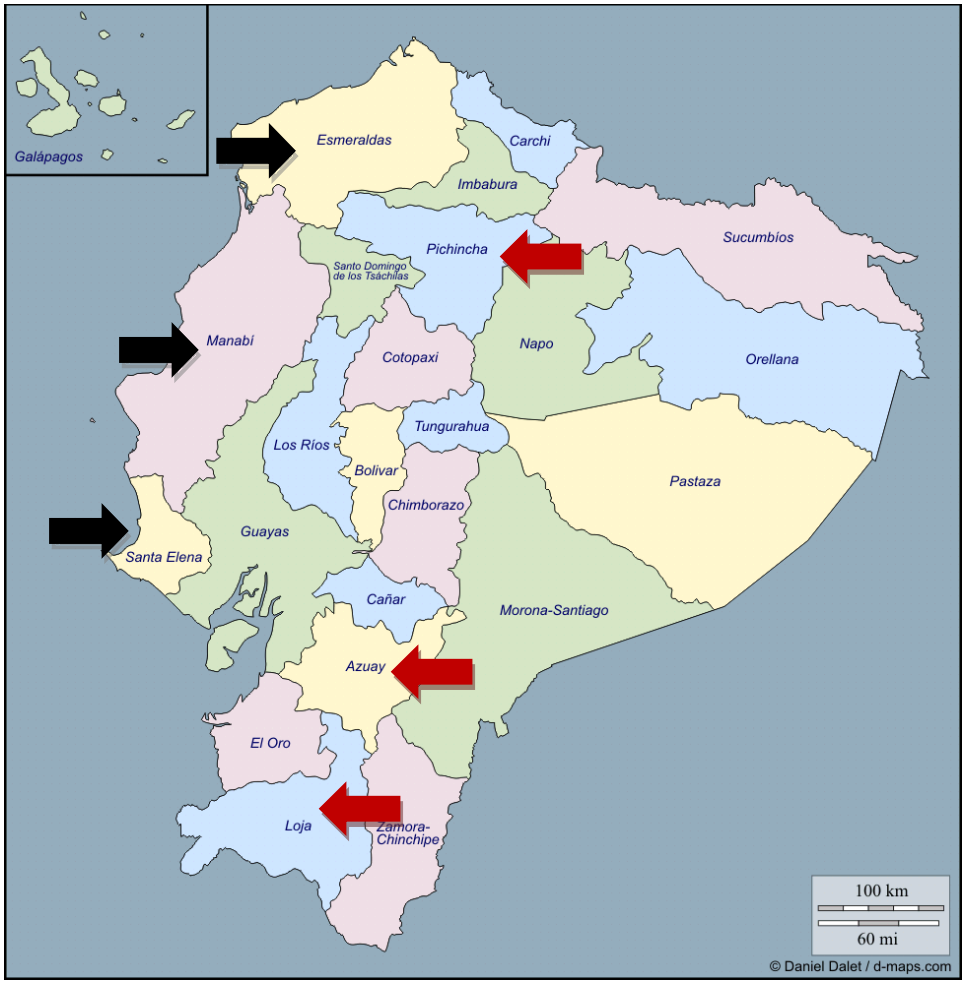


Figure 3.7. Map of Ecuador with migrants' main provinces of origin: the seaside (e.g. Guayas, Manabí and Esmeraldas, marked with black arrows) and the highlands (e.g. Pichincha, Azuay and Loja, marked with red arrows).

Recent changes in the economic situation and regulatory frameworks in Spain and Europe have affected Ecuadorians' migratory projects in such a way that there has been a point of inflection "in the articulation and configuration of Ecuadorian migratory chains and networks towards Europe" (Pedone, 2005, p.138, my translation). Apart from the general restrictions that the immigration act[48] approved in 2003 for all non-EU citizens to enter and stay in Spain, since August 2003 a new EU legislation obliged Ecuadorians to get a visa to enter the Schengen space (Pedone, 2005, p.136). The restrictions to enter added to the

[48] The Spanish name is *Ley de Extranjería*.

difficulties to stay, such as delays in the renovation of resident and working permits, as well as the dramatic consequences of abusive mortgages.[49]

3.1.2. Moroccan migrants: from temporary workers to permanent citizens

From the 32 million Moroccan citizens, a 9,3% lives abroad, mainly in France, Spain, Italy, Israel, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, the US, Canada and Saudi Arabia (World Bank, 2012, p.30). The country is located in the northern part of Africa (as shown in Figure 3.7) and together with Argel and Tunisia constitutes the Maghreb region, which shares the Mediterranean shores with Southern Europe.

Figure 3.8. Location of Morocco in the African continent.

Migration flows between Spain and the Maghreb have changed signs throughout its long history in which dramatic cultural, socio-economic and geopolitical changes have occurred: from the islamization of the Iberian peninsula around 708 BC, the Christianization of Maghreb around 1230 and the colonization of Moroccan territories by Spain and France in 1912 (Actis, Pereda, & de Prada, 1993). López (1993) observed that until 1940, there were more people travelling from Spain to Morocco, a trend that reversed afterwards (1993, p.43-44). His book "Maghreb Immigration in Spain: The return of the Moriscos" constitutes an encompassing piece of work that portrays the main socio-economic and historical characteristics of this migrant flow up to the early 90s, an exhaustive

[49] "According to the [Ecuadorian] consulate in Spain, there are approximately 15.000 Ecuadorians who have problems to afford their mortgages. Moreover, it is estimated that about 10% of all forced executions conducted in Spain in the last three years have been done on this group" (Alekseyev, 2012).

documentation process he continued in the collective project "Atlas of the Moroccan Immigration in Spain"[50] published in two volumes in 1996 and 2004.

Maghreb people have migrated to Europe in the post World War periods to participate in the reconstruction process and later economic expansion of the 1950s and 1960s. They settled down first in France (WWI period), and then followed the Netherlands, Belgium and Germany (WWII), until 1974,[51] when many of these European countries that had needed Moroccan migrant workers closed their national borders to new immigrants. Although the movement of people continued afterwards through family reunification processes, during the 80s Moroccan migrant flows redirected towards Italy and Spain (López, 1993, p.29).

These early flows arrived in Europe as temporary workers and had a specific profile: they were mostly married young men who had left their wife in origin, who would work in "the non-specialized European industry (…) perceiving low salaries but comparatively higher than those in their country of origin (...) [they tended to have] reduced expenses and sav[ed] 50% of their salaries" (Noin as cited in López, 1993, p.37) to send back home.

What European governments had initially planned (that foreign workers would go back to Morocco after get the work done) did not occur. In the XXI century, there are approximately two million Moroccan people living in Europe, what in 2004 constituted 80% of the total diasporas (López García, Bravo López, García Ortiz, Planet Contreras, & Ramírez Fernández, 2004, p.20).

> Maghreb migrations to Europe have changed its temporary status in order to become a new reality in the multicultural structure of European population. Three migratory flows of different dimensions, though same origin, are parts of this structural reality: the legal familiar migration, composed of women and the youth; the workers' illegal migration; and that one hidden in apparently asylum seekers or political refugees (López, 1993, p.35, my translation).

[50] See http://www.uam.es/otroscentros/TEIM/Observainmigra/Atlas.htm

[51] One year before, in 1973, there was the first world oil crisis that caused tensions between Western countries that had supported Israel during the Yom Kippur War against Syria and Egypt, and Arab countries that decided not to sell their oil to the former.

Despite the important Moroccan presence in Spain since the 1980s, it was not until the Spanish authorities passed the first Immigration Act in 1985 and made the consequent first regularization process of foreign people one year later, that Moroccan people became really visible as a numerous and growing collective in the Spanish society (López, 1993). Indeed Spain is in the top ten migration corridors worldwide with Morocco, after France and before Italy (World Bank, 2011, p.29). "In a decade, the number of registered Moroccan people [living in Spain] has grown from 173.000 (January 2000) up to 746.000 (January 2010)" (Colectivo IOÉ, 2012). By 2011, they are 769.106 (INE, 2012). In all, their settlement can be historically organized in "three phases: one period between 1960 and 1975 of unstable settlement; another one between 1975 and 1986, coinciding with the closure of national borders in Europe and a third period after 1986,[52] after the promulgation of the immigration act in Spain" (López, 1993, p.71). A fourth stage can be added since 2000, when there was another important regularisation period "linked to the changes in the immigration act" (López García et al., 2004, p.47).

The second and third periods of Moroccan contemporary settlement in Spain during the 80s and 90s presented various changes in the profile of migrants. According to Larbi Talha, they can be summarized as "the demographic rejuvenation, the feminisation of the active population and the outsourcing of labor" (as cited in López, 1993, p.33). The initially masculinized flow have gradually become mixed when Moroccan women started migrating at the late 80s, both from rural to urban areas within Morocco and abroad (López García et al., 2004, p. 33). As mentioned before, Southern Europe, including Spain, became an attractive destination due to the demands of workers in the service sector, in particular female domestic work.

Within Spain, Catalonia is "one of the oldest places of reception of the Moroccan population. Moreover, it is among the first places that has registered family settlements" (López García et al., 2004, p. 45). This may have ancient historical roots, as suggested by the comparison of Maghreb settlement in Spain before their expulsion in the XVII century by the

[52] In 1985, Moroccan society starts suffering "the effects of the structural adjustment plans that invigorate the rural exodus and turn Spain and Italy into new migratory destinations" (López García et al., 2004, p.47). From 1983 to 1993, the period when the structural adjustment plans were implemented, there was "loss of public expenses and worsening of budget and financial deficits" (El Aoufi, 2004, p.43).

Catholic authorities. Looking at the maps of distribution of the population then and in 1992, López (1993) observed great similarities in the distribution of Moroccans in Valencia, Catalonia and Murcia, as well as Aragón, Andalucía, Extremadura and Castilla (1993, p.17). Regarding origins, before the 90s, most Moroccan people who arrived in Spain came mostly from the Northern Moroccan region, which used to be a Spanish colony in the first half of the XX century. During the 90s, there was a diversification of the places of origin (López et al., 2004, p.47). In this second period of migration to Spain, many Moroccan workers would occupy the positions left by Spanish internal migrants (López, 1993, p.76).

Between 1992 and 2002, the growth rate of Moroccan migrants in Catalonia was 454,3%, a percentage slightly superior to the mean in Spain of 422% (López et al., 2004, p.45). Some fluctuations in the data during this period are related to legal initiatives by the Spanish authorities. For instance, in 1996 there was a re-documentation process that allowed people to start family reunifications, what favoured the increase of Moroccan population, though this stimulus was stopped in 2000. Family reunifications contributed to increase the presence of Moroccan women in Catalonia, but it was not enough to equalize a historically masculinized migrant flow, caused by the specific demands of the Catalan labor market dynamics in the industry, construction and agriculture sectors (López García et al., 2004, p. 49).

3.2. The Technological Dimension and the Mobile Phone

In Spain, increasing immigration flows coincided with two key events in the history of connectivity that occurred in the 90s: during the first half of this period, there was an intense global process of liberalization of the telecommunication sector that contributed to the sharp drop of prices, making access easier for wider segments of the population. In the second half of the 90s, there was the emergence of digital communications (Fundación Orange, 2010). In this context, immigrants' quickly adopted ICT, in particular those technologies that proved particularly helpful to adapt to the new socio-economic environment of the arrival society and, at the same time, to continue to nourish social, cultural, economic and/or political relationships with origin societies. This is the case of MP.

Although there is not a complete, updated and systematic data collection on ICT use among migrants in Spain yet, there are two important sources of statistical evidence that partially serve this purpose: at the national level, there is the *Survey on home equipment and use of ICT*[53] elaborated every year by the Spanish Statistical Office.[54] In Catalonia, the Barometer *of communication and culture*[55] measures mass and personal media consumption among Catalan speaking people. According to the last *Survey on home equipment and use of ICT*, in 2011, 95.9% of foreign population in Spain used a mobile phone. This slightly exceeds the native population use, a tendency that can be also observed in Personal computer (PC) and Internet uses, as shown in Figure 3.8.

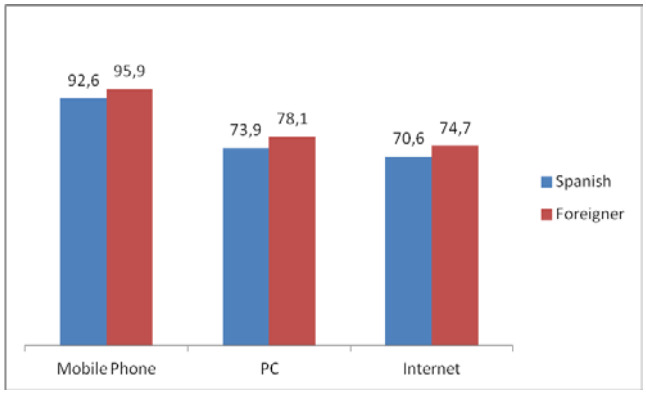


Figure 3.9. ICT use in Spain 2011. Source: *Survey on home equipment and use of ICT* Source: INE (2011c).

These percentages confirm the high penetration of technology among the population. However, the results need to be doubly problematized according to what is meant by "mobile phone" and by "foreign population". For instance, the survey did not ask about the kind of MP people have, thus it cannot provide a complete picture of what nowadays has become a highly differentiated environment, with devices ranging from simple first or second generation MP to complex third generation ones –also called Smartphones– with wireless internet connection. Drawing on the data provided by the

[53] TN: In original Spanish version: Encuesta sobre equipamiento y uso de tecnologías de la información y comunicación en los hogares

[54] Instituto Nacional de Estadística – INE

[55] TN: In the original Catalan version: *Baròmetre de la comunicació i la cultura.*

Barometer of communication and culture 2007-2008 in Catalonia, the report commissioned by Fundación Orange (2010) concluded that "immigrant population make a more extensive and integral use of mobile phones (except from 3G services that seem to have been adopted less by the immigrant population, in comparison with Spaniards)" (2010, p.146).

Like with most technological devices, there is an ongoing process of stratification in the access to MP related infrastructures and services that needs to be taken into account, especially if we are interested in users who do not tend to be early adopters and lead users. In other words, unlike Wirth, Von Pape, & Karnowski (2008)'s call to advance the MP research field by asking "How do people use their mobile telephones?'' (2008, p.593), I argue that it is still relevant to ask "who": *Who uses a 3G mobile telephone?* and answer it by taking into account intersectional differences of age, sex, ethnicity, socio-economic class, origin and educational level. It is not a minor question, since "access" should not be reduced to a *yes/no* or *adoption/rejection* paradigm, but it has also *qualitative* implications that make real differences in use and appropriation. In this regard, Castells (2011) nuances the happiness of MP universal access in terms of these qualitative inequalities:

> We can estimate that two thirds of the world population have access to a wireless communication network (…) However, as it happens with the Internet, quality of access, broadband and available services introduce new forms of inequality so that all persons, businesses and institutions do not access to the same opportunities (Castells, 2011, p.13)

The following table compares the evolution of mobile internet access between Spanish and foreign population, showing small variations across time. At first glance, the data shows relatively low percentages of users of MP internet connection for the whole population, but this is expected to change in the near future. The report "Communication in Catalonia 2010", elaborated by the *Barometer of communication and culture* states that during 2010 the amount of Catalan people who connected to the internet through MP doubled, a trend that might be also the case for the rest of Spain (FUNDACC, 2011).

Table 3.4. Percentage of Spanish and foreigners with mobile internet access 3G and 3,5G connectivity.

Mobile internet access 3G, 3,5G connectivity		
(% of the population)		
Year	**Spanish**	**Foreign**
2011	18.3	13.3
2010	20.3	20.6
2009	15.8	12.9
2008	11.1	11.7
2007	10.5	11.5

Source: Own elaboration based on the *Survey on home equipment and use of ICT* (INE, 2011c).

Moreover, according to the results in Table 3.4, there are small fluctuations in the data, so that foreign people with 3G MP used to exceed Spaniards' in 2007, then both groups' percentages equated in 2008 and 2010, and in 2011 there was a bigger difference in favour of Spanish people, who seem to connect from 3G five per cent more than foreigners.

Before drawing any conclusion from this data, it is necessary to problematize the demographic differentiation by nationality, since the criteria to distinguish between *Spanish* and *foreign* population is doubly biased. Firstly, there might be people of diverse origins who have acquired the Spanish nationality and remains invisibilized in that category. Secondly, the category "foreign nationality" is too heterogeneous, including both Communitarian[56] and non-Communitarian citizens. This bias has important socio-economic and cultural implications for the migratory trajectories of each collective, which for that sole condition have different racial, socio-economic and political status and access to very different opportunities, being the Communitarian ones the most favoured.

In a recent PhD research, Olivera (2011) compared ICT access and use between French and Ecuadorian citizens living in Spain, in order to show how the latter's' non-

[56] Communitarian citizenship refers to the one given by countries that belong to the European Community.

Communitarian status might negatively influence their integration in Catalonia, including through their digital practices. From a sample of 149 surveyed individuals with similar representation of each nationality, 32% of French people had MP with internet, while only 18,9% of Ecuadorian people had it (Olivera, 2011, p.280). Despite being illuminating, this survey did not cover the nuances between *owning* a MP with internet connection and actually *using* that technical possibility. In particular, mobile internet is not widespread accessible to many migrant people yet. Although they might have modern handsets with the technical possibilities to do so, many of the migrant people I interviewed expressed they could not afford internet connection in their MP and had it blocked, as we will see in their accounts in Chapter 8.

The *Barometer of communication and culture* offers more detailed information on the category "foreigners", considering regional origins that show important differences in MP use between people from different regions in Europe, North and Latin America, Maghreb and Sub-Saharan Africa. For instance, it concludes that "population from the European Union and North America seems to have a more versatile use of the mobile phone, as it is shown by the high percentages that send messages (75,4%), or access internet or the electronic mail" (Fundación Orange, 2010, p.146).

Official statistics in Spain and other developed countries have shown that mobile internet users tend to increase in the short run. "Despite the crisis, the demand of broadband connections in Spain have continued to increase during 2011", reported Fundación Telefónica (2012) based on data provided by the Telecommunication Market Commission (henceforth CMT). "(...) this increase has been mainly produced by mobile broadband, which has increased a 18,29% to reach 13,96 million lines, a 28,5% more than fix broadband" (Fundación Telefónica, 2012). Moreover, network connections are expected to become cheaper, thus more accessible to the wider population soon. However, a new gap will probably emerge once a newer technology is made available, in an endless cycle in which the "informational have-less" will lag behind as long as structural inequalities in our societies persist.

It is also important to take into account the technological contexts of migrants' origin societies**,** usually tagged as "Third World", "developing" and "poor" by First World Western standards, a disadvantageous position that reverberates in economic, social and political indicators of welfare. Increasingly, the measurement of the technological environment has become an important indicator of present and future development and (economic) growth. The World Economic Forum has created the Networked Readiness Index (NRI) in order to "measur[e] the degree to which economies across the world leverage ICT for enhanced competitiveness" (Dutta & Bilbao-Osorio, 2012, p.33). Although it has a macroeconomic orientation that lacks consideration for the nuances, inequalities and complexities in people's everyday life, this index makes visible the main differences between countries in terms of infrastructures, regulatory frameworks, affordability and skills, to name but a few indicators that compose it. The higher the score is, the better positioned the country will be in a worldwide ranking. In 2012, the ranking was led by Sweden, followed by Singapore and Finland. That year, Spain was in the 38th position, between Slovenia and Chile; Morocco was 91th and Ecuador was 96th. Despite their different positions in the NRI ranking, the three countries share high values of mobile network coverage and mobile phone subscriptions, as can be seen in Table 3.5 below:

Table 3.5. Mobile network coverage and mobile phone subscriptions of Spain, Morocco and Ecuador, 2012.

	Spain	**Morocco**	**Ecuador**
Mobile network coverage, % pop.	99,8	98,4	93,3
Mobile phone subscriptions/100 pop	112	100,1	102,2

Source: Own elaboration based on "The Global information technology report 2012" (Dutta & Bilbao-Osorio, 2012).

However, dramatic differences arise when other indicators are considered, evidencing the privileged position people who live in Spain might have to access and use digital communication technologies. I will take the examples of those indicators more related to the current research about trans/national connectivity in which infrastructures, skills and levels of individual use might help to explain the context in which migrant interviewees interact. To start with, the report estimated that Spain produced almost 79%

more electricity per capita than Ecuador and 80% more than Morocco.[57] In terms of international internet bandwidth, there were also big differences: while Spain offered 56,1 kb/s per user, Ecuador has 8,3 and Morocco only 4,8. When we consider indicators of individual use, like the percentage of people who use the Internet and of household ICT equipment, Ecuador lags considerably behind, as shown in Figure 3.9.

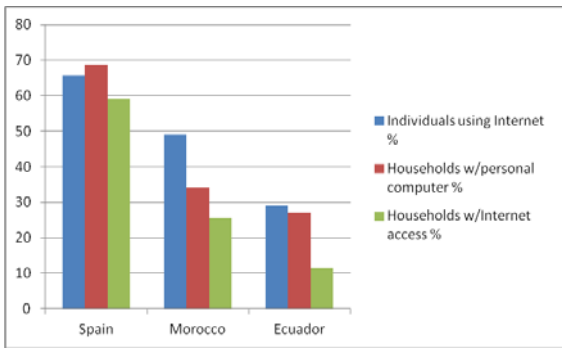


Figure 3.10. Percentages of individual use and household ICT equipment in Spain, Morocco and Ecuador, 2012. Source: Own elaboration based on *The Global information technology report 2012* (Dutta & Bilbao-Osorio, 2012).

Last but not least, the subscriptions to both Internet and mobile broadband connection services were not widespread in Morocco and Ecuador yet, as shown in Figure 3.10. All these differences influence people's ability to use online resources as well as the quality of their connection, reinforcing long-standing inequalities.

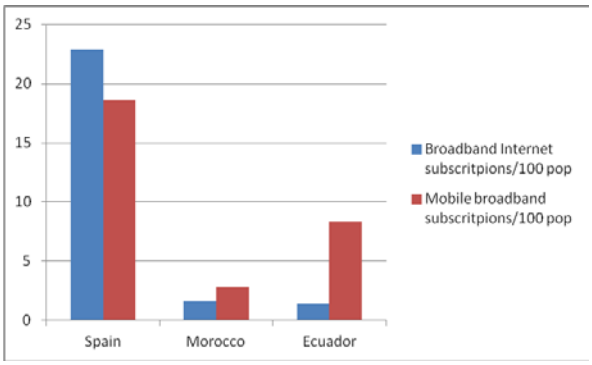


Figure 3.11. Broadband services subscriptions in Spain, Morocco and Ecuador, 2012. Source: Own elaboration based on *The Global information technology report 2012* (Dutta & Bilbao-Osorio, 2012).

[57] The indicator "Electricity production kWh/capita" is 6387 for Spain, 1323,8 for Ecuador and 664,8 for Morocco (Dutta & Bilbao-Osorio, 2012).

3.3. The Market Dimension: the Private Playground where Demand and Supply Meet

The economic, political and cultural changes brought about by intense immigration flows to Spain have turned the country into an attractive market for commercial enterprises offering various connectivity services, from airway connections to MT and international phone calls. Each service presents its own specificities in terms of regulatory frameworks, the main actors involved, companies' market shares and commercial strategies. Next subsections focus on this research main interest: the MT and the telecom sectors, according to second hand data from Spain but always with reference to a global context.

3.3.1. The Telecom sector

Telecom operators compose the so called "ecosystem of the internet" together with other agents such as "service providers, content providers, and manufacturers of devices, etc". (REDTEL, 2011). They constitute an important player in the national economy, investing 4.500 million euros approximately per year in developing infrastructures and services within the territory.

There are two kinds of operators: those that own a radio spectrum license and those that do not own one so they buy it. The former are called Mobile Network Operators (henceforth MNO); the latter are Mobile Virtual Network Operators (MVNO). In Spain, there are tens of MVNO and four MNO:[58] Orange España, Telefónica España-Movistar,[59] Vodafone and Yoigo.[60] This scenario has resulted from a global strategy of liberalisation and deregulation of the telecom sector worldwide, initiated in the 50s in the US and boosted by the so called Western advanced economies in order to support the dominant economic model that historian Dan Schiller conceptualizes as "digital capitalism" (2000):

> During the 1990s, a top-to-bottom overhaul of worldwide telecommunications drove toward completion. Two features of this transformation stand out (...) First, the network system building boom was of a magnitude that the world had never

[58] See Appendix A and B.

[59] Until 2010, Movistar was the brand for Telefónica mobile services. Now they have merged both services in the brand Movistar, and Telefónica maintains a "corporative role".

[60] ONO is also considered a MNO but I decided to leave it out from this list because it owns a fibre optics network, not a mobile network.

> seen. Old networks were upgraded to support novel services, while capacious new systems sprang up at every level, from local loop to global grid. Equally significant, however, was a second feature of the emerging regime. Policy-makers the world over simultaneously abandoned public-service policies for market-driven tenets and acceded to the integration of networks on a transnational scale. National welfarist controls over this critical infrastructure dropped away, while disparities in access widened. This tumultuous transformation was triggered inauspiciously, by an obscure series of piecemeal changes beginning in the United States in the 1950s. (Schiller, 2000, p.2)

In Spain, this situation translated into two points of inflection in the evolution of the regulatory frameworks in the telecom sector: the General Law for Telecommunications (GLT) passed in 1998 and the authorization for MVNO to operate. Until the 90s, Telefónica was the only company operating in Spain, having the monopoly of the telecom services since its foundation in 1924. This situation changed radically with a process initiated in the 80s to open up the market, and resulted in the GLT (Perez Yuste, 2002; Rodríguez Illera, 2009). The end of the monopolic Spanish telecommunication sector yielded to a oligopolistic organization in which big carriers "tend to have stronger competitive advantages (in this case, radio bandwidth ownership, brand or know-how) and greater financial resources (Guillén 2005)" (Sabaté, 2010, pp.118-119). In 2006, the regulatory body, CMT, obliged MNO to open their network, selling part of their radio spectrum to MVNO. This new regulation caused a multiplication of small operators, each one developing specific business models to attract particular market niches in an increasingly competitive and highly segmented marketplace. Together with Italy, Spain has become "the fastest growing MVNO market in Western Europe" (Singh, 2010) with 23 active MVNO in 2011 that had 6,8% of the whole market share (measured by the number of mobile phone lines by CMT, 2011). In 2012, this percentage increased to 8.3.[61] Although this is a small proportion in comparison with the big operators or MNO, they are growing fast and steadily at least in two areas. Firstly, they are increasingly capturing customers who migrate from big to small companies in search of cheaper services. Indeed CMT highlighted that "users were very active in

[61] See Appendix C.

changing their service provider,[62] looking for the best prices or better subsides when buying MP terminals" (CMT, 2011, p.91).

Secondly, MVNO that focus on international calls[63] have obtained the highest revenues and some of them "registered a higher volume of international calls that the one declared by the main mobile telephony operators" (CMT, 2011, p.99). CMT also reported that while big telecoms lost 8% of their incomes in 2011, the traffic of MP calls increased a 13% due to the rise of MVNO. The continuous struggle to offer better prices and plans, has turned MVNO into a dynamic force that has reinvented the Spanish telecom market, obliging major carriers to update and adapt their own offers to avoid losing even more customers.[64] As MNO Orange spokesperson summarized: "Virtual operators have favoured a bigger level of competition, what has stimulated us to be stricter in the development and launch of new services [for immigrants]".

MVNO are especially attractive because they position themselves as providers of low-cost services on a prepaid subscription basis which contract does not have a permanence clause. Thus customers have a better control over their expenses by only using the minutes they can pay for, and they can stop topping up their numbers for a period without losing their MP number.[65] The commercial name popularised for these services is very suggestive: "Pay-as-you-go SIM card". Prepaid telecom services are crucial for low-income users, from young users (Goggin, 2006, p.55) to the urban poor (Portus, 2008) no matter their migratory origin, but the literature has acknowledged that the booming

[62] When customers change companies but keep their original MP number it is called portability. In 2011, there was "a historical record" of 460.000 mobile phone portabilities per month (CMT, 2011, p.91)

[63] CMT classifies MVNO in two groups: those "that offer services to market segments with specific demands (for example, international phone calls)" and those operators with a fixed network of their own, including cable TV operators that "want to compete by offering multiple services, mobile and fixed ones, so they need access to mobile communication network wholesalers" (CMT, 2011, p.112).

[64] In 2011, the biggest MNOs, Telefónica-Movistar and Vodafone, lost 889.041 MP numbers, while Yoigo gained 395.876 MP numbers and MVNO also increased their market share (CMT, 2011, p.91). Since then, both companies have faced dramatic staff reductions of around 20% (Flores, 2011; Marco, 2012).

[65] On average, users can keep their prepaid SIM cards without a top-up for a maximum of 10 months. However, most prepaid services require a minimum consumption per month that varies according to the provider.

business of prepaid telecom services has been closely developed in conjunction with migrant needs (Sabaté, 2010; Vertovec, 2004).

Prices constitute a polemic issue. On the one hand, the association of MNO, Redtel, claims that the Spanish telecom sector is deflationary due to its continuous tendency to decrease prices as a result of "a strong competition in the market and the added pressure of regulation". This impacts negatively on the companies' income but ensures a continuous increase of users. In their last report, they highlight that "since 2003, the communication price index descended 24.8 points in comparison with the general CPI"[66] (Redtel, 2011, p.49). However, Spain was in the 134th position in the world ranking of MP tariffs elaborated for the last World Economic Forum (Dutta & Bilbao-Osorio, 2012, p.350). This ranking is based on "the average per-minute cost of different types of mobile cellular calls (PPP $[67])" collected for 2010. It was led by Hong Kong, with the cheapest price: an average of 0.02 $/minute, followed by Central Asian countries Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and India. Among the Western European countries, Denmark was 6th with 0.06 $/minute, Italy was 48th with 0.23$ /min. and the U.K. in the 68th position with 0.31 $/min.

Expensive prices in the Spanish telecom market are confirmed by lay people who make use of these services, as we will see in the experiences of most of the interviewees who collaborated with the current research. The situation is also confirmed by the numerous complaints derived from this sector: from the 90.000 complaints presented by consumers in 2011, around 75% referred to telephone and internet services. In 2010, the consumers' defence office of the Ministry of Industry resolved 72,9% of the 45.040 complaints in favour of customers (Vidales, 2012). Many complaints derive from inaccurate, incomplete or not enough visible information displayed in advertisement so consumers feel deceived and initiate legal actions (El País, 2008).[68] Advertising is crucial for telecoms to

[66] Consumer Price Index.

[67] "The amount is adjusted for purchasing power parity (PPP) and expressed in current international dollars" (Dutta & Bilbao-Osorio, 2012, p.391).

[68] Consumers associations have denounced telecom companies for various reasons, including the bad display of crucial information (e.g. if prices are limited to specific minute allocations or times of the day, if they include VAT or not, if they include the call set up fee, etc.). See for example FACUA-Consumers in Action (2008).

convey their message in the highly competitive and always changing Spanish market, investing big sums of money, as shown in Figure 3.11 below.

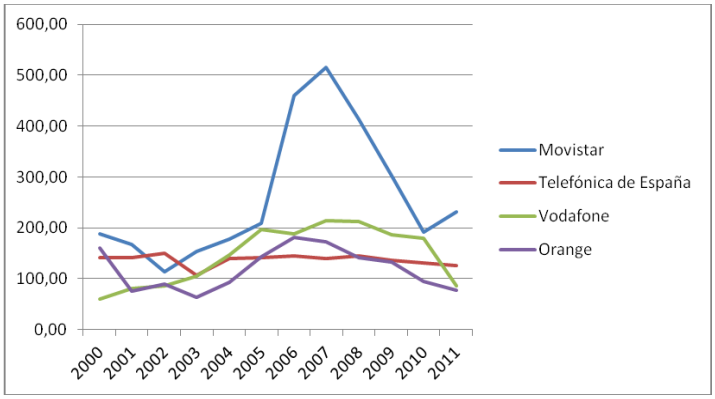


Figure 3.12. Expenses in advertising and promotion per telecom operator, 2000-2010 (million euros). Source: CMT (2011).

Unfortunately, there is not disaggregated information on MVNO investment on advertisement. In any case, they have an increasing relevance in the Spanish market evidenced, for example, by their position in the ranking of mobile network operators annually elaborated by the regulatory body. In 2009 and 2010, MVNO Lebara occupied the fifth position and in 2011 it was Lycamobile, another MVNO which target immigrants and started operating in Spain in 2010 in partnership with Vodafone España.

In this scenario, I will focus on Lebara to analyze MP corporate discourses in Spain. This MVNO started operating in the Spanish market in February 2007, as part of the Lebara Group**,** founded in 2001. This multinational company has its headquarters in London and subsidiaries in most Northern and Central European countries and Australia, where it delivers international calls services since 2004 in the Netherlands, Norway and Denmark (2005), Spain, Switzerland and the U.K. (2007), Australia (2009), Germany and France (2010). The corporation defines itself as provider of "prepaid Mobile SIM cards customised to the needs of international communities, particularly migrant workers" and also "the leading European provider to "ethnic" segments" in their website. It has approximately 2.5 million customers worldwide; in 2010 it reported "revenues of €565 m[illion] (- more than a 50% increase on FY09), and profits before tax of €21m[illion]. The company currently

employs some 1,300[69] employees across its operations and markets" (House, 2012). In 2009, it was planning to spend "over £4m" (Marketing Week, 2008), approximately five million euros, what illustrates its growing and expansive model.

3.3.2. The money transfer sector

Unlike the telecommunication sector, which might not dedicate exclusively to immigrants, the highest revenues of the money transfer services depend almost exclusively on the immigrant segment.

According to the *Migration and Remittances Factbook*, in 2010 Spain occupied the seventh position of the world ranking of countries senders of remittances (World Bank, 2011a, p.1). The economic crisis since 2007 has affected its volume, but their decrease has not been so dramatic in comparison with other money flows, a phenomenon that has been called "the resilience of remittances":

> The term resilience is applied to individual migrants who also suffer from various impairments to their development and still are able to overcome them: first, they are negatively affected by the working conditions and salaries for migrants in countries of destination because both generally tend to be unsatisfactory (D'Souza 2010). Second, when sending money to their families back home, migrants have to pay exorbitant fees in the not-so-transparent market for international money transfers, which reduces the amount of remittances actually arriving in the families' households in countries of origin (Beck and Martinez Peria 2009). Third, the global economic and financial crisis has drastically reduced the number of formal jobs worldwide, and with this it has also reduced opportunities for migrants to earn their livelihood abroad (IOM 2009). Despite all these difficulties, migrants keep working, and remittances keep flowing back to their countries of origin (Riester, 2012, p.141).

Figure 3.12 shows their evolution from 1992 to the second trimester of 2012 in which, after a steady increase, there are two peaks of sharp decrease and consequent recovery.

[69] Although this number will soon decrease due to staff cuts (House, 2012).

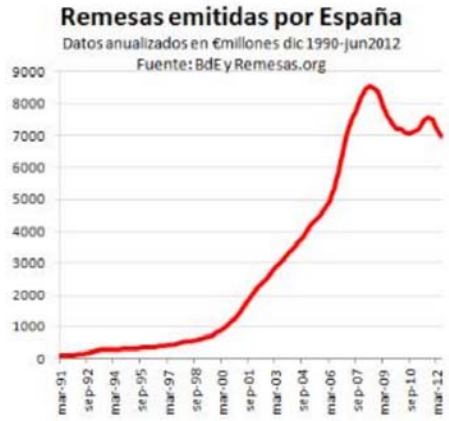


Figure 3.13. Evolution of remittances sent from Spain between December 1992 and June 2012 in million euros. Source: Remesas.org (2012).

These estimations are based on information provided by formal channels (banks and agencies) but cannot measure the amount of money that move through informal channels, estimated in 20% for 2008 –around 1600€ million– (Moré, Dirk Godenau, González, Kurzawinska, & Moreno Alberto, 2008).

In 2009, the Spanish market had the most numerous MT operators in Europe: 61, (Remesas.org, 2009). Most of them "did not exist before 1990 and have started operating after 1997" (Pereda, de Prada, & Actis, 2001). The competition in the market has influenced MT rates, so that Madrid was the cheapest European city to send money abroad at the beginning of the XXI century. This scenario has been stimulated by national and international governance bodies that have changed regulations "to reduce the costs of transfers and to promote a greater role by banks and other financial institutions in an industry currently dominated by wire transfer firms" (Orozco, 2004, p.1). In Spain, the strategy to open the MT market based on two recently passed laws: the Spanish Law on Payment Services 16/2009 (BOE 275, 2009)[70] and the Spanish Law on Electronic Money 21/2011 (BOE 179, 2011).[71] The former created a new type of legal entity called "payment institution" which aims to standardize criteria and increase competition in the European MT market. The latter also opened the market, since it allowed various actors to offer financial services: "from April 2011 electronic money institutions (such as telecom providers, or

[70] This Law echoes the European directive 2007/64/CE (European Union, 2007).

[71] This Law echoes the European directive 2009/110/EC (European Union, 2009).

companies providing prepaid cards) may conduct other business activities including payment services such as financial transfers" (European Commission, 2012) within the EU.

A research commissioned by the Pew Hispanic Center on the costs of remittances between the US and Latin America, however, concluded that competition was necessary but not sufficient to ensure cheaper services, as expressed in the executive summary:

> Although the cost of sending remittances is now much lower than in the late 1990s, the rate of decline has slowed markedly in the past three years. Prices have dropped only slowly despite rapidly growing volume and increased competition in the marketplace. This suggests that further price reductions might be difficult to achieve under current market conditions (Orozco, 2004, p.1).

Apart from MT operators, the financial sector that target migrants includes banks and saving banks. Their commercial strategies towards this target are mainly based on remittances, though they can offer a wider spectrum of financial services including credit and micro-credit loans, as well as CSR actions.[72] Moreover, after migrants have settled down they might require other banking services: "In four years time, an immigrant customer becomes as any other customer in relation to her need for banking products: current accounts, cards, loans, mortgages, insurance, etc". (Techforce, 2007). This has derived into a process of double bankarization, including both immigrants in Spain and their families in origin, in which banks have tried to attract them as regular customers. In 2007, the Bank of Spain encouraged Spanish based banks to "take advantage of their franchises in Latin America in order to gain presence in those markets (...) unlike traditional remittance agencies, [banks] should offer credit and remunerate immigrants' savings in their origin countries (Roquero, 2008, p.143). Not only would this be a good business for banks, but it would also promote immigrants' access to bank accounts, "avoiding money laundering and less use of informal channels" (Solimano as cited in Roquero, 2008, p.135). According to the last available data, however, banks have not succeeded in attracting migrants' remittances, a highly concentrated marketplace dominated by MT agencies. Figure 3.13 shows how five agencies cover 52% of it. In particular, Western Union outstands with 18% of the market

[72] In Spain, part of CSR is managed through branch institutions called "obra social" (social work). In 2007, immigrant people were third in the list of beneficiaries, after the elderly and disabled people (Techforce, 2007)

share[73] what represents 32 million euros in revenues in 2010, followed by the fusion of "Small World and Choice" (12%) and Ria (9%). The only bank ranked in the first eight positions (BBVA) has only a 4%.

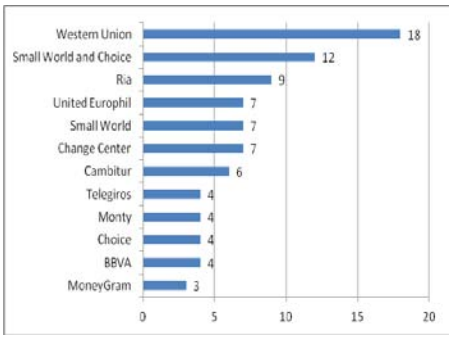


Figure 3.14. Percentage of market share[74] of payment institutions operating in Spain by 2011. Source: own elaboration based on Remesas.org (2011).

According to a report made by the Confederation of Spanish Saving Banks (CECA) in 2002, 80% surveyed immigrants from Latin America used MT agencies to send their remittances (Banco de España, 2006, p.146). The main destinations of remittances from Spain are shown in Table 3.6 that also evidences a slight decrease in comparison with 2010 for most countries:

Table 3.6. Main countries of destination of remittances sent from Spain in million euros and their variation between 2010 and 2011.

Iberoamérica lidera remesas

Ranking de destinos de las remesas de España

Datos en millones de euros. Fuente: remesas.org según datos BdE

País	2010	2011	2011% 10
Total	7.208	7.268	1%
Colombia	1.290	1.286	0%
Ecuador	923	938	2%
Bolivia	613	603	-2%
Rumanía	382	363	-5%
R. Dominicana	288	349	21%
Paraguay	324	298	-8%
Marruecos	296	291	-2%
China	252	254	1%
Perú	259	233	-10%
Brasil	252	233	-8%
Pakistán	123	116	-5%
Filipinas	n/d	116	
Senegal	108	n/d	
Iberoamerica	3.957	3.903	-1%

Source: Remesas.org (2011).

[73] Western Union market share reaches the 30% when adding the percentages of its exclusive agents in Spain: Cambitur (6%) and Angelo Costa (3%, 13th place in the ranking) (Valero, 2012).

[74] This figure does not include a 15% of the market share corresponding to the category "Others". The complete list of money transfer operators in Spain is in Appendix D.

The configuration of remittance corridors from Europe make Spain the most important one for Latina America in general and Ecuador in particular, while France is the main corridor for Morocco (Tedesco, 2008, p.6). Both economies are highly dependent on this financial resource from abroad.

"Why should we fight against human trafficking, if every individual who leaves the country represents one problem less and an extra source of income?", said a major general of the Moroccan Kingdom to international journalists in 2001 (Bárbulo, 2004, p.27, *my translation*). Though politically and humanly inappropriate, this statement illustrates the importance of remittances for the Moroccan authorities. According to official data, Moroccan remittances from Europe have always been highly estimated, not only by direct beneficiaries –non migrant family members- but also by the Moroccan State. "Throughout the 1980s the amount of remittances equated the incomes produced by both tourism and phosphate taken together" (López, 1993, p.63); in 1990, they represented a 46% of the country's export incomes (López, 1993, p.36). In 2009, the country was in the third position of the "top 10 remittance recipients" with a 6.6% of its GDP (World Bank, 2011a, p.30). The continuous flow of remittances, however, has not had a great impact on the national economy, questioning mainstream theories on the causal effects of the remittances-development nexus: "Experience shows that in places like Argelia, Morocco or México, that have received remittances for many years, these incomes have not translated into economic development" (Tedesco, 2008, pp.3-4). In the same line of thinking, Larbi Talha considered that "the productive impact of remittances is a myth, at least in the macroeconomic sense, because these ones do not focus so much on investments but on consumption and construction, and take the 70%-75% of savings" (Talha as cited in Actis, Pereda, Ioé, & Prada, 1995).

In Ecuador, remittances have grown from a 3% of GDP in 1998, to 8% of GDP in 2000, when the process of dollarization started.

> Ecuadorian Economist Alberto Acosta observed that "remittances are essential to sustain the Ecuadorian economy, in particular to finance the dollarization process. It is also useful to reduce the poverty rate, but without necessarily becoming a tool for boosting development, in particular due to the lack of a macroeconomic environment that improves production and employment" (Acosta, 2005, p.26).

The report BID-FOMIN[75] in 2003 stated that the majority of surveyed receivers of remittances in Ecuador use them "for family's first need expenses such as food, house rent, electricity, water supplies, telephone, transportation, clothing and medicines. 17% goes to `luxury items' and 22% to investments: 4% to properties, 2% to education, 8% to savings and 8% invest in business". (Acosta, 2005, p.23).

In order to analyze corporate discourses of MT operators in Spain, I will focus on the case of Western Union, for its overwhelming global presence and prolific production of discourses on migrants. They are one of their most important commercial targets, as illustrated by these quotes extracted from their website: "we help you provide for your loved ones almost anywhere in the world" and "we are proud to support migrants in their journey toward greater economic opportunity".

For the focused interviews with companies' spokespersons, I contacted WU and also one of its competitors, Money Gram. Both are multinational enterprises born in the US which started operating in Spain in 1994. At that time, MT agencies started an important period of global expansion, as the WU Senior Marketing Manager for Spain and Portugal described:

> In the 90s there was a boom in the business of international money transfers; it was then that Western Union US thought about reflecting the successful American model of transactions between persons, in transactions between the US and the world. It then starts the development in Europe in the 90s but it was stronger in the XXI century, mainly for two dynamics: the movement of people and the development of a business model similar to banks' but based on the movement of multicurrency cash anywhere in the world.

WU has a much longer history, starting in the telegram business in the US 160 years ago and pioneering the business of MT services. In the first semester of 2011 - the moment

[75] Inter-American Development Bank (BID) and *Multilateral* Investment Fund (Fondo Multilateral de Inversiones FOMIN)

the interviews were held-, the company and its network of partners amounted to "approximately 455,000 agent locations in 200 countries and territories", as expressed in their website.[76] In Spain, it has 13 thousand points of sale and more than 18% of the market share, as shown in Figure 3.13 above. By contrast, Money Gram has only a 3% of the Spanish market and the goal to overcome the distribution network of their main competitor, as expressed by the company spokesperson: "we are improving and extending our network progressively, with currently more than 233.000 locations worldwide (...) in more than 191 countries and territories (...) 11.000 of them are spread around the Spanish territory".

3.4. Concluding Remarks

The history of contemporary migration in Spain is marked by dramatic changes occurring in a time span of barely 20 years. From being a country of emigration before 1985, it became a vivid example of immigration country between 1995 and 2005. In that same period, increasing immigration flows arriving in Spain coincided with two important processes: the emergence of digital communications in the second half of the 90s and the global strategy to deregulate and liberalize global markets, including telecommunications and money transfers. This chapter has sought to put together specific information on the three dimensions –migration, technology and markets– in Spain and Catalonia, an autonomic region with its own specificities for historically being a favourite destination of internal migration within Spain. It aims to contextualise analytic Chapters 5 and 6 about discourses on ethnicity, connectivity and globalization.

Previous research has evidenced immigrants' quickly adoption of ICT enhanced services, in particular, those ones with low costs and easy interfaces which have proved helpful to both adapting to the new socio-economic environment of the arrival society and to continuing to nourish social, cultural, economic and/or political relationships with origin societies.

The migratory dimension takes cultural diversity seriously to nuance the

[76] By September 2012, they had increased to "approximately 510,000 agent locations" (Western Union, 2012).

preconceptions about migrants as a fixed and uniform category. The National Statistical Institute groups non-Spanish citizens as “foreigners”, being the five most numerous groups Romanians, Moroccans, British, Ecuadorians and Colombians. However, there are substantial differences in the way people experience migration, according to hierarchical regimes of mobility, depending on where they were born, where they move to and how they look like, among other variables. For instance, EU members access basic rights within the continent, like formal citizenship and free movement across borders, which others are denied. Non-white ethnicities might deal with hostile reactions from native people, namely racism, xenophobia and hate speech.

My research focuses on the two most numerous groups of non-European national origin in Spain and in Catalonia: Moroccans and Ecuadorians. The former have older relationships with the Iberian Peninsula, sharing the Mediterranean shores, although having very different cultural and ethnic profiles. The latter constitute a much more recent migratory flow in Spain that shares most cultural characteristics (e.g. language and religion) as a result of Spanish colonial endeavours.

When looking at the technological dimension, MPs use was quite extended in both origin countries - Ecuador and Morocco - and in Spain. However, there were meaningful differences in other basic indicators of ICT infrastructures, digital access and use. This helps to understand the importance of voice communication when computer use is not widespread or electricity is not fully available, and the obstacles involved when one node in the communication process has not enough resources to connect properly.

The market dimension, considered the commercial development of specific connectivity services, in this case, the MPs and MTs sectors. In the 90s, there was a global strategy to deregulate and liberalize strategic services to support the free circulation of resources, in particular information, communication, money and (some) people. Although not all migrants are welcomed by nation states and global governmental bodies, most of them can take advantage of globalization when, for example, the increasing competition of connectivity services providers include sharp drops of prices and it emerges new business models based on offering low-end ICT, like MVNO.

4. Methodological Approach: Combining Cultural Studies and Critical Discourse Studies

Discourse analysis as a `craft skill' (…) the only way to learn it is to get on and do it. Potter as cited in Rose (2007, p.145)

There are many domains, methods, and approaches in discourse analysis, and I have always learned from all of them. van Dijk (2004)

The complexity of discourses on migrant connectivity, elaborated by diverse actors in differing formats and genres, demanded an equally complex research design, involving multiple methods of data collection and analysis. In this chapter, I argue that the combination of Cultural Studies (CS) and Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) offers a set of useful conceptual and analytical tools to understand the articulations and disjunctures of both corporate and migrant discourses. The first two sections of the chapter present a theoretical and methodological overview of each field, while the third one focuses on their practical application to the selection of the corpus and the design of the analytic templates.

Before focusing on the specificities of CS and CDS, however, it is worth considering some of their substantive but usually forgotten similarities. Some scholars have underlined that differences between the two have historically prevailed, depriving them from benefiting from each other's contributions (Barker & Galasiński, 2001; Threadgold, 2003). The biggest difference between them lays on the disciplinary traditions they have emerged from: while CS comes from literary studies and the humanities, CDS has its historical roots in the various branches of linguistics –especially critical linguistics–, traditionally influenced by the social sciences' knowledge standards. Methodologically, the former has a strong orientation towards qualitative research with focus on multiple dimensions of cultural analysis, including texts, contexts and audiences. CDS has a strong commitment to qualitative research too, but it also embraces the quantitative approach when necessary,

and its focus has been on textual analysis in context, leaving aside the analysis of the reception of texts. In spite of these differences, their research agendas and epistemological stances have increasingly brought them closer together, a trend the current thesis echoes by offering a research design that combines both traditions. In the first chapter, I already mentioned briefly three characteristics of research stimulated by both approaches, so that it should be interdisciplinary, critical and including multiple perspectives of the phenomena under study.

Interdisciplinarity implies taking inputs from various academic traditions –in this case, migration and new media studies, including research subfields concerned with mobile communication, transnational families' communication, feminist readings of the representation of so-called minorities in mass media, and critical approaches to gender roles in the process of remittances. However, it is not a mere aggregate of disciplines but a process of putting them into dialogue towards the common end of better explaining the object of research. This involves integrating multiple perspectives and dimensions when analysing social phenomena, even if –or because– this involves tensions and contradictions. *Multiperspectivity* invites to consider various levels of analysis –micro, meso and macro– in order to access to different points of view on the same topic. In particular, some strands within CS have considered three main perspectives in the analysis of cultural products: 1) their contexts of production or political economy, 2) their textual analysis, and 3)their reception and use (Kellner, 2003, p.12). This triad was especially helpful for structuring the current research in which I look at migrant connectivity through MP and MT service providers' accounts (political economy), corporate discourses (textual analysis) and migrants' experiences of connectivity (reception and use).

The *critical* dimension of research is rooted in a social and political commitment to make power relations visible, to align with the more disadvantaged actors and to imagine possible changes towards more equitable societies. It is a crucial aspect of both CS (Barker, 2003; During, 1999) and CDS (Fairclough, 1992; van Dijk, 1993), as a consequence of their engagement with critical theory. Critical theory can be broadly defined as "a philosophical approach to culture (…) that considers the social, historical, and ideological forces and

structures which produce and constrain it" (Stevenson, 2010). The term was coined in 1937 by German-Jewish philosopher and sociologist Max Horkheimer, one of the leading figures of the Frankfurt School, a social research centre that challenged the dominant thinking in modern Western science. The school's main critiques were directed towards scientific paradigms such as positivism and enlightenment, arguing among other things that "theory is historical, subjective, and a part of society" (Buchanan, 2010). These reflections were inspired by new interpretations of Marx, Hegel and Freud. Apart from Horkheimer, early members of the critical theory tradition included philosopher Theodor Adorno and sociologist Herbert Marcuse. Later on the work of sociologist, geographer and philosopher Jürgen Habermas started to be among the most referenced scholars within this field, especially for his work on language. Different disciplines have relied on a variety of authors, like the poststructuralist and postmodernist works of Mikhail Bakhtin, Roland Barthes and Julia Kristeva in literary criticism and semiology, Jacques Lacan in psychoanalysis, Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida in philosophy (Threadgold, 2003, p.6). Despite being nurtured by various disciplinary traditions and concerns, critical theorists share an analytic lens that locates power differences and relationships at the centre of their approaches, as well as a strong desire to overcome social inequalities. Both CS and CDS inherited the spirit of these thinkers and retained the conceptualization of power as a central issue, as the following definitions reflect:

> The central strand of *cultural studies* can be understood as an exploration of culture as constituted by the meanings and representations generated by human signifying practices, and the context in which they occur, with a particular interest in the relations of *power* and the political consequences that are inherent in such cultural practices (Barker, 2004, p. 42, *emphasis added*).

> Although there are many directions in the study and critique of social inequality, the way we approach these questions and dimensions is by focusing on *the role of discourse in the* (*re*)*production and challenge of dominance*. (…) More specifically, *critical discourse analysts* want to know what structures, strategies or other properties of text, talk, verbal interaction or communicative events play a role in these modes of reproduction (van Dijk, 1993, p.249-250, *emphasis added*).

An oversimplified but clarifying view on the shared terrain of both fields of knowledge would emphasize the links between culture –as the domain of CS– and language –as the domain of CDS–. Jamaican-British sociologist Stuart Hall, a pioneer theorist of CS, relates these concepts as follows:

> To put it simply, culture is about `shared meanings'. Now language is the privileged medium in which we `make sense' of things, in which meaning is produced and exchanged. Meaning can only be shared through our common access to language (Hall, 1997, p.1).

In general, CDS has tended to focus on the analysis of speech and written texts, while CS has been a more visually oriented academic field, leading to the emergence of a sub-field known as "Visual Culture Studies" (Mirzoeff, 2002, cf. Bal, 2003). This distinction, however, has lost strength and now many CS scholars design careful textual analysis (Barker & Galasiński, 2001). In parallel, discourse studies' (DS) initially exclusive linguistic and textual orientations have been also challenged. Firstly, the detailed linguistic analysis of lexis, grammar and syntaxes has widened in order to include multimodal analysis in which written and visual texts articulate (Kress, 2010; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Secondly, the exclusive textual orientation of DS was soon problematized by scholars who underlined the importance of "text and talk *in context*" (van Dijk, 1997, p.2, *emphasis added*), increasingly including the conditions of production and reception of texts in their analysis.

Much CS research follows an analytic model based on a triad composed of a discursive and textual dimension, a lived, experiential dimension and a contextual one, which emphasis on one or the other will depend on the research aims (Kellner, 2003; Saukko, 2003). Indeed CS has tended to approach written and visual text in a different way than CDS since it rarely uses linguistic analysis but focuses on broader processes around cultural representations. These processes have been summarized in a circuit model composed of the dynamic relationship between representation, identities, and processes of production, consumption and regulation (Hall, 1997, p.1).

To sum up, both CS and CDS have made specific contributions to the current research. After referring to their commonalities, next sections will focus on their particularities, including a brief account of their academic histories and conceptual contributions to the analysis of discourses of connectivity and migration.

4.1. When the *Cultural* Became *Studies*

Without offering a thorough history of the field, we can distinguish at least three stages in the development of CS in which issues of power have always been touched upon: an early stage since its origins in 1950s Britain until 1970, a second stage since 1970 marked by French post-structuralism, and a third stage since the 1980s, when analysis of subaltern positions in terms of class, gender and ethnicity transcended its British focus, spread to other regions of the world and became globalized (During, 1999). Each stage has offered valuable contributions to the research agenda of the moment. Thus the first stage focused only on class issues from a Marxist perspective, the second stage assumed the importance of gender differences after the influence of feminist movements, and the third stage included race and ethnicity as the missing link of previous analysis, all of what derived into contemporary claims for intersectional and multidimensional analysis.

Some historical antecedents in the history of CS are important to understand the centrality of mass media as a focus of research and the process by which initially textual analysis based in Britain evolved into an international field which now also considers the contexts of production and consumptions of such texts. The founding texts focused on power issues within the British society. Raymond Williams' *Culture and Society 1780-1950* questioned the dichotomies between high and low cultures, acknowledging the importance of popular culture as a valuable source of knowledge in order to understand increasingly mediatized societies. Richard Hoggart's *The Uses of Literacy* explored British working class representations in print media, drawing attention to how mass media offered widespread – and often hegemonic– accounts of reality through which people lived. The American tradition of media effects, which assumed that packed messages were linearly received by a homogeneous, passive audience, was challenged by the Birmingham School of Cultural

Studies that emphasized the multiple decodings or readings of media messages according to different subject positions marked by the intersectionalities of class, gender, age and ethnicity, among others (Hall, 1974; Kellner, 2003). In this sense, David Morley's *Nationwide,* was among the first ethnographic accounts on TV audiences that helped to think of polysemy (the multiple potential meanings of a text) and active audiences. Subsequent approaches underlined the need to understand the context of production of texts, namely in the cultural industries −more recently called creative industries− that form the political economy of such texts. Mosco (2009) defined the political economy of communication as "the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources, including communication resources" (Mosco, 2009, p.2). In my own research, I consider the political economy of MP and MT commercial discourses which target migrants in Spain through company spokespersons' accounts, in order to understand the conditions of production and distribution of such texts.

A second stage in the development of CS started in the 1970s, after the influence of French post-structuralism. New insights into dynamic identities and subjectivities started to acknowledge the experiences of marginal voices such as feminists, colonized people and diasporic communities, becoming central areas of CS concern until now.

The current research draws on various strands of CS inherited from these histories. Methodologically, it follows Kellner's (2003) critical multiperspectival approach based on textual analysis, political economy, and audience reception (2003, p.12). This approach overcomes the traditional binary oppositions between empiricism versus textuality so pervasive in the field (Threadgold, 2003, p.7). For audience reception, I considered Hall's conceptualization of reading positions towards television discourses as a useful analytic model to extrapolate to this study. Hall (1974) distinguished between "hegemonic", "negotiated" and "oppositional readings", depending on viewers' degree of acceptance and coincidence with hegemonic culture (in this case, consumer culture) and "the ideological intentions of a text" (Kellner, 2003, p.17). These conceptualizations will frame migrants'

accounts of their experiences with MP and MT services, including their readings of advertising I present in Chapter 7.

Audience reception has been historically marginal in the literature on advertising, usually more focused on textual analysis and, to a lesser extent, the processes of production of such texts (Crane, 1999; Kellner, 2003; Nava, 1997; Sender, 1999; Soar, 2000). Inherited from television and cinema studies, the concept of "audience" has shifted together with changes in paradigms of social communication research. In my work, I prefer to use the word "viewer" instead of "audience", following the distinction proposed by American media scholars Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright (2009):

> By focusing on the viewer (...) we are emphasizing the practices through which images and media texts reach out and touch the audience members in ways that engender experiences of individual agency and interpretive autonomy, even in cases in which the image is widely viewed as a shared text with effective dominant meanings (...) we can describe some of the many ways that viewers make meanings outside the boundaries of producers' intended messages and effects, even as viewers recognize those intended meanings (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009, pp.51-52).

In the fieldwork with migrants, I collected this information through semi-structured interviews, a method which interaction between interviewer and interviewee produces the texts that will be object of analysis. Interviews share some advantages with the biography method, namely they "collect persons' experiences as they process and interpret them. This revelation of facts and interpretations is in turn filtered, explicitly and implicitly by the beliefs, attitudes and values of the main actor (...)" (Golby as cited in Pedone, 2005, p.111).

4.1.1. A cultural studies approach to connectivity

Theoretically, CS research has proved helpful to approach the contemporary babble on hot topics –from terrorist attacks to food disorders, technological determinism and commodity cultures– in order to make visible the dominant discourses at play and unveil the ideological positioning of their enunciators.

In the realm of everyday politics and technology, the role of corporate discourses, especially advertising, has been explored by various CS scholars, namely Roger Rouse (1997)

and Lisa Nakamura (2002) in relation to US Internet providers, and Gerard Goggin (2008) with regard to Australian MP. They have all read advertising beyond its instrumental goals of persuading potential consumers, but as forms of social communication (Leiss, Kline, & Jhally, 1997) which reflect and shape lifestyles, beliefs and anxieties in very illustrative ways.

In a non-published manuscript, Rouse (1997) argued that major corporations play a key role in manufacturing "dominant images and narratives" (1997, p.10) that serve elite powers to shape peoples' worldviews in order to conform to the elite's interests. It is a continuous process that accommodates to the fast changes of contemporary societies, in which corporations play a central role:

> Mainstream academics, as well as journalists and political pundits with ready access to the official public sphere, are playing an important part in these dominant reimaginings (…) Increasingly, however, it is major corporations that are taking the leading role as our pedagogues, our story-tellers (…) Through indirect forms of address such as movies and through direct forms such as press releases, packaging and, especially, advertising, these firms are not simply selling us goods and services or trying to enhance their reputations. They are also disseminating specific images and stories meant to shape the ways in which we construe our changing world, view the ties between its past, its present and its future and, above all, choose to act –partly as consumers but also as political subjects and as workers (Rouse 1997, p.10).

He focused on an advertising campaign launched in 1994 by American internet provider MCI that also attracted other scholars' attention, such as Nakamura (2002), who provided a close reading of ads from this and other telecommunication corporations. Her main concern was to make visible how, apart from selling hi-tech services, the ads sell ideas on "a radical form of democracy" (2002, p.88), disembodiment and spectacles of "exotic otherness" (2002, p.93) through the use of ethnically diverse representations that, however, reproduce the Western colonial dichotomy between *us* and *them/others*.

Goggin (2008a) called for a CS approach to MP research and distinguished between "little" or "micro" cultures of MP, such as those associated with "sub cultural formations, forms of media cultures, and technologies" (2008, p.354) and "the MP in and across

cultures", be it nationally based or according to intersectional variables of mobility, age, race, gender and disability, to name but a few. In his own work, he focused on the Asian-Pacific region, drawing on Australian MP companies' advertising to discuss the history of mobile technology in that country (Goggin, 2008b). He related the social and cultural representations provided by specific ads with issues of identity, multiculturalism and the relationship between Australia and its Asian neighbor countries, considering the intersectional implications of differences in class, gender and ethnicity.

These scholars' work has been inspiring sources for my research process. However, unlike their focus on the representation of difference to persuade Western consumers, the current research is about difference embodied in the consumer herself, when migrant populations live in so called Western countries and constitute the target of ethnic marketing.

4.1.2. Consumer advertising as social discourse

In much academic writing, advertising pieces have been used to illustrate and exemplify diverse arguments, as they serve to easily connect with audiences' everyday experiences. Indeed, advertising continuously updates its format and content in order to adapt to the rapid changes occurring in the societies where it operates. Advertisers must know well those societies in order to entice customers in environments increasingly saturated with commercial messages: Their success usually depends on their capacity to capture new social realities and translate them into catchy images and messages that link brands with diverse emotional states.

The current work, however, transcends advertising as mere anecdote in order to take it seriously as a focus of research. The main motivation emerged from the assumption that advertising is not only about selling, but it is a powerful social discourse deeply rooted in capitalist societies: it is the ideological tool of the marketplace, understood as "the major structuring institution of contemporary consumer society" (Jhally, 2003, p.250). There are many ways of defining what advertising is, depending on the disciplinary and ideological location from where one speaks. For business people it is about providing customers with

information about a product so they can choose what best fits their needs, while Marxist social scientists would define advertising as a dominant discourse that "creates demands for products, which makes people buy more than they really need" (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009, p.199). My own position is biased towards the latter, although my research aim requires a more systematic definition to guide the analysis.

From a discursive perspective, the advertising genre has three main characteristics I summarize as follows: convincing, simple and pleasant. Firstly, it has a persuasive function, relying on a plethora of rhetorical devices that aim to have an effect on viewers, namely to convince them to take some action. Secondly, advertising needs to keep its messages simple, so they can be easily understood by a broad audience that will probably dedicate just a few seconds of attention to them. As a result, commercial messages build a language of their own in which stereotypes and *clichés* abound, sometimes in a challenging mood (e.g. the surprise factor) but, most of the times, reproducing them. Thirdly, it has to be attractive and cause pleasure, what is accomplished through a continuous aestheticization of its objects of representation (Haug, 1986), so that people, products and settings are usually happy, perfect and beautiful respectively.

Despite being a quite new practice in human history, advertising has grown in presence and sophistication in a relatively short period of time, especially in so called advanced economies where the levels of consumption and the purchasing power are higher. For the purposes of this research, advertising is "a semiotic-communicational and psychosocial product that gives meaning to many subjects-consumers' actions in their everyday life (...) both a creative and determining communicative process" (Ojeda, 2009, p.20, my translation). In this condensed definition there are the main elements that will be considered in the current analysis, namely, the semiotic dimension, the process of consumers' subjectification –or how to become a subject through consumption–, people's everyday actions and the double ability of advertising to inspire as well as to reflect social realities.

The semiotic dimension implies looking at the process of meaning-making through the use of different signs that are interpreted according to cultural and socio-historical

contexts. There are various theoretical streams within semiotic studies. The main differences can be found in the epistemological approach to the analysis of signs (structuralism or post-structuralism) and its conceptualization (e.g. the Saussurean sign as dyadic or the Piercian sign as triadic; as lexis or grammar).

> Simply defined, structuralism is "a set of theories that came into prominence in the 1960s that emphasized the laws, codes, rules, formulas and conventions that structure human behaviour and systems of meaning. It is based on the premise that cultural activity can be analyzed objectively as a science (…)" (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009, p. 461).

Early structuralism refers to the work of Swiss linguist F. de Saussure, who in the second half of the 19th century conceptualized a dyadic composition of signs in terms of a signifier or form, and a signified or content. He also stated that the relationship that linked both was arbitrary, ruled by social conventions. At a similar time but on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, American logician C. S. Pierce defined signs according to a triad of elements composed of what he called "representamen", "semiotic object" and "the interpretant" or sense made of the sign (Chandler, 2002, p.29). Structuralism was criticized for its limited analysis, considering only formal issues that ignored the social dimension in which signs acquire life, thus meaning. Such critics are known as poststructuralists, a broad label to refer to theoretical positions that base their work on structuralism but transcend it by offering new insights of old topics and exploring new topics such as emotions, affects and desire, as well as the ambiguous effects of meaning (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009, p.455).

Another component in the aforementioned definition of advertising referred to a psycho-social dimension that involves processes of subject and identity formation.

> According to Sturken and Cartwright: "Like other images, advertising images *interpellate* their viewers in particular ways, hailing them as ideological subjects (…) interpellation is the process by which we come to recognize ourselves in the *subject position* offered in a particular representation or product" (2009, p.203).

Linguistically, this is reflected by the use of the pronoun "you" in the commercial messages; visually, it is usually conveyed by semiotic resources that activate interactive meanings, especially in the attitude of represented participants towards potential viewers (eye contact, distance, point of view), as I consider in detail in Chapter 6 on the visual analysis of advertising.

As a practice of representation, advertising can be considered as both a window and a mirror of society: it shows a reality that although partial and ideal, promotes and resembles people's behaviours, experiences, desires and aspirations, making their experiences visible as well as shaping them. Diverse and changing contexts have resulted in changing advertising strategies and results, providing each time idealized representations of both the present and possible futures through the production and dissemination of "new visual codings" (Nixon, 1997, p.294), which might eventually have the potential to change attitudes and behaviours deeply rooted in society.

Minorities and/in mass media: ethnic advertising and beyond

Despite being problematic, the concept of minorities is helpful to describe the experiences of subalternity that some people might experience in societies where rigid standards inspired in a dominant model are imposed to non-dominant subject positions. An example elaborated by feminist theory is the subaltern position of black lesbian migrant women in WASP[77] men governed societies. According to Deleuze and Guattari's conceptualization of "minoritarian-becomings" (1987, p.117), it is not about quantitative minorities but about power inequalities. These manifest at various levels, one of them being the public sphere: "an arena for the open discussion of common concerns and collective social interests (...) It is 'a network for communicating information and points of view', and in the modern world the mass media can be seen as constituting this arena (raising the question of inequalities of access and representation)" (Chandler & Munday, 2011).

German philosopher and sociologist Jürgen Habermas first conceptualized the public sphere according to the discussions held by the burgess elite in *cafés* on the 18th and

[77] WASP is the acronym for "white, Anglo-Saxon and protestant".

19th centuries. His work was criticized, improved and served as inspiration for many scholars now and then. American political scientist Nancy Fraser elaborated a feminist critique that underlined the absence and exclusion of women, ethnic minorities and poor men in the Habermasian public sphere, a serious drawback since they "are not only arenas for the formation of discursive opinion; in addition, they are arenas for the formation and enactment of social identities. This means that participation (...) means being able to speak "in one's own voice" (Fraser, 1990, p. 68-69).

"Immigrants and ethnic minorities" (IEM) has become a widespread expression to describe foreigners in a given country, a condition that can manifest at various levels, from physical appearance (e.g. skin color and other phenotypes) to cultural behaviour (e.g. language proficiency, clothes, etc.) and legal status (e.g. with or without resident permit). Within this heterogeneity, IEM has rapidly become a favourite target for the advertising of very different products and services related to their cultural backgrounds (e.g. food, hair styles, etc.) as well as their transnational living (e.g. low-cost airlines tickets and international phone calls). The commercial strategies addressed to IEM are known as ethnic, multicultural or diversity marketing (Baladrón Pazos, 2009). Ethnic marketing constitutes a practice that takes into account "differences in communication preferences and consumption behaviour, developing a value proposition that better meets the needs and preferences of ethnic minority consumers" (Pires, Stanton, & Stanton, 2005, p.3). Its origins can be traced back to the beginning of XX century in the US as a discontinuous practice that has acquired growing importance since the civil rights movements in the 60s, when minorities had started to claim citizenship and also acquired consumer status (Baladrón Pazos, 2009; Cui, 2001; Halter, 2002). In Europe, its development has been more recent and particular to national contexts.

While the definition of "ethnicity" is complex and the adjective "ethnic" is abused and misused for all kinds of issues,[78] ethnic advertising has consolidated as a sub-genre of consumer advertising, developing its own rules. In his book on immigrants and advertising in

[78] For example, there are some expressions of so-called soft multiculturalism that praises exoticism as fashionable and cosmopolitan, through the consumption of ethnic food, clothes, travels and music.

Spain, professor Antonio Baladrón (2009) listed three "basic expressive elements to promote the primary identification of the target public with the ad" (2009, p.241): the use of national flags, expressions such as "immigrants", "your country" or synonyms, and smiling models from diverse ethnic backgrounds.

The way in which mass media discourses address, portray and interact with minorities is of great importance in every society, for their capacity to shape public opinion and to provide the symbolic mechanisms through which individuals make sense of reality and understand themselves as part of a community. If this process is not respectful and representative of diversity, it will evidence deficiencies in the way resources (both economic and symbolic) are distributed and power controlled and abused by a majority. By considering the mass media as an important "order of discourse" (Foucault, 1981) of contemporary societies, we can distinguish between two sub-orders of discourse and their relation to minoritarian subjects: in the news, minorities are usually the object of discourse (what is talked about), while in advertising they become subjects who apparently talk for themselves, even if it is in a fictional and idealized world. Table 4.1 maps and summarizes some of the authors that have inspired my own approach to the representation of minoritarian subjects −mainly IEM, women and migrant women− in two discursive genres of the public sphere in Western countries: advertising and the news, including specific advertising of ICT products and/or services.

At first, critical academic research focused on either sexist representations (Goffman, 1979; Kang, 1997; Lundstrom & Sciglimpaglia, 1977; Williamson, 1978) *or* racist ones (Hall, 1997; Stern, 1999; Taylor, Lee, & Stern, 1995). It was only after black feminist theory highlighted the importance of multiple and intersectional axes of power inequalities that the social sciences and the humanities started dealing with the articulations of difference. In this line, advertising scholars also started to frame their research questions around gender *and* multicultural issues (Plous & Neptune, 1997; Stern, 1999). This inspired much work on how migrant women were portrayed in mass media, especially in the news (Lutz, 1991; Masanet Ripoll & Ripoll Arcacia, 2008; Rodriguez Díaz, 2006; Román, García, & Álvarez, 2011; Vaca et al., n.d.).

Table 4.1. Mapping key literature on the representation of minoritarian subjects in mass media.

		"Minorities"		
		IEM	**women**	**IEM women**
Mass Media	**Ads**	**Marketing Studies** (Halter, 2000; Cui, 2001; Pires, et al., 2005; Baladrón et al., 2007), **Critical Theory** (Santamaria, 2004; Taylor, Lee and Stern, 1991; Hall, 1997)	**Marketing Studies** (Lundstrom and Sciglimpaglia, 1977), **Critical Theory** (Goffman, 1979; Williamson, 1978)	Plous and Neptune, 1997; Stern, 1999
	ICT Ads	Nakamura, 2002; Goggin, 2008	Martínez, Aguado and Tortajada, 2009; Regan Shade, 2007; Döring and Pöschl, 2006	
	News	**Critical Discourse Studies** (van Dijk, 1997; Bañón, 2002; Martin Rojo, 2001; Nash, 2005; Retis, 2004. **Visual Studies** (Batziou, 2011)		**Western discourse** (Lutz, 1991), **In Spain** (Rodríguez, 2005; Masanet and Ripoll, 2008; Román et al., 2011; Vaca et al. n/d)

Source: Own elaboration.

In the Spanish context there is an emerging, interdisciplinary and critical body of work on international migrants in mass media. Marketing studies have provided pioneer research on migrants' consumption behaviour to improve companies' commercial opportunities (Baladrón Pazos, 2009; Álvarez Ruiz, 2009), considering advertising and consumption as ways of integration in the host society (Gaona Pisonero, Baladrón Pazos, & Martínez Pastor, 2007; Álvarez Ruiz, 2009). Although I use this literature to understand my object of study, my approach is closer to critical and poststructuralist perspectives developed within the sociology of communication and media studies that have adopted a more critical stance towards issues of socio-political rights (Pisonero, Vizcaíno-Laorga, & Pastor, 2008; Santamaría, 2004) and stereotypes (Gaona as cited in Baladrón et al. 2007, p.65; Martín Nieto & Arroyo Almaraz, 2009). CDS has denounced the predominance of xenophobic and racist representations that tend to oppose an inherently positive *Us-Spanish-European Union* identity to a negative *Them-Other,* usually defined as victim or perpetrator of diverse tragedies: violence, human trafficking, prostitution and economic crisis (Bañón, 2002; Martín Rojo, 2006; Nash, 2005; van Dijk, 1997). The dichotomy "Us-Them" is extensive to the representation of migrant women. The analysis of Spanish mainstream media has revealed that migrant women do not appear in the news as much as

migrant men do and, if they do so, they are portrayed in relation to social problems such as violence, underdevelopment and marginality (Masanet Ripoll & Ripoll Arcacia, 2008; Rodríguez, 2005; Román et al., 2011). Spanish anthropologist Carmen Gregorio identified three recurrent topics about migrant women in the media that, according to her analysis, has justified public powers' intervention in the name of democracy: "the veil, genital ablation and `prostitution´" (Gregorio Gil, 2004, p.18).[79]

The aforementioned studies have all based on written texts. Except from critical readings of advertising and Batziou's (2011) comparative analysis of the representation of migrants in photojournalism in the Greek and Spanish press, there has not been much research on the visual portrayal of migrants in mass media. From different disciplinary locations, an increasing number of scholars have argued that the humanities and the social sciences would highly benefit from the use of visual data and methodologies in their analysis (Ball & Gilligan, 2010; Grady, 2008; Pink, 2001; Rose, 2007). This goes beyond the use of images to illustrate a single argument; it calls for a more engaged attitude towards visuality, broadly understood as "the quality or state of being visual (…) [that] concerns how we see everyday objects and people, not just visual texts" (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009, p.466). Indeed visual texts are just one dimension of visuality, as well as just one research area of the eclectic interdisciplinary field known as visual studies. In particular, Ball and Gilligan (2010) highlighted the importance of visual studies for understanding issues of migration and social division, proposing to cover topics as diverse as "residential segregation, inequality and discrimination based on difference, labor market segmentation, processes of racialization/ethnic group formation, citizenship and belonging" (Ball & Gilligan, 2010). Following their concern, one of my aims is to articulate migration and visual studies but with focus on commercial representations. I argue that this can enrich our understanding of the phenomenon by looking at what aspects of being a migrant are emphasized and what silenced in the discourses elaborated by specific corporations that have a central role in the dynamics of connectivity across borders.

[79] Although she prefers the phrase "sexual work", Gregorio uses "prostitution" between inverted comas as it is "the language of power" (1994, p.18) used in the media.

4.1.3. The socio-semiotic approach to commercial visual texts

The visual analysis of ads followed a multilayered and dialectical process, alternating descriptive and explanatory tasks. It drew on social semiotics of visual communication (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006), a methodology inspired in French semiotician Roland Barhtes' work but that shifted his focus on *lexis* or individual signs to consider the *grammar* or combination of individual signs (Machin, 2007, p.2). Both have dealt with the work of images and their different layers of meaning, namely the denotative and the connotative. The former refers to the manifest or explicit elements in consideration and can be easily associated with a descriptive purpose of what is depicted. The latter involves the implicit messages and acquires a more explanatory power since it is "the layer of the broader concepts, ideas and values which the represented people, places and things `stand for', `are signs of'" (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001). Connotation constitutes a complex and contested level of analysis since it depends on the viewer's personal background and interpretative skills. These can be acquired through special training in both image analysis and broader social theory, but they can also derive from other less formal sources of knowledge, such as personal experience, as it was the case of most migrants' reading of ads, reported in Chapter 8. In any case, as part of popular culture, advertising does not usually require highly trained readers since it is conceived to convey clear messages in simple ways: "If the image contain signs, we can be sure that in advertising these signs are full, formed with a view to the optimum readings: the advertising image is frank, or at least emphatic" (Barthes, 2002, p.135).

The social semiotics of visual communication offers an alternative approach to traditional semiotic analysis for two main reasons. Firstly, by adding a social dimension, it analyzes the work of signs in their social context, taking into account their interactive meaning and signifying practices beyond mere linguistic rules. Secondly, it is part of a broader movement that has adapted British linguist M.A.K. Halliday's functional systemic linguistics[80] to the analysis of "non-linguistic modes of communication" (Kress & van

[80] I need to acknowledge van Dijk' s criticism on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). He argued that its "limited social theory and non-existent cognitive theory hardly provide an explanatory functional theory of language use and discourse. It should be emphasized from the start, however, that the shortcomings of the SF paradigm (...) do not characterize all workers in SF, but only many mainstream studies in SF" (van Dijk, 2008,

Leeuwen, 2006, p.6), such as sounds, still and moving images, in order to identify different levels of meaning at work.

Halliday conceptualized three simultaneous functions of language: ideational, interpersonal and textual, defined as follows:

> In the *ideational* function "(…) the speaker or writer embodies in language his experience of the phenomena of the real world; and this includes his experience of the internal world of his own consciousness: his reactions, cognitions, and perceptions, and also his linguistic acts of speaking and understanding (…) In the second place, language serves what we may call an *interpersonal* function (…) the speaker is using language as the means of his own intrusion into the speech event (…) and also the relationship that he sets up between himself and his listener –in particular the communication role he adopts, of informing, questioning, greeting, persuading, and the like (…) A third function which is in turn instrumental to these two (…) I shall call this the *textual* function, since it is concerned with the creation of text (…) (Halliday as cited in (Fowler, 1991, p.69).

These linguistic analytic categories have their visual parallel in the representational, interactive and compositional meanings, as summarized in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2. Template for a social semiotic analysis of visual communication.

REPRESENTATIONAL MEANING (ideational)	**narrative structure**	*vector, action*
	conceptual structure	*props and symbolic attributes*
INTERACTIVE MEANING (interpersonal)	**contact**	*look towards the viewer, engagement*
	distance	*individuality, personality, identification with viewer*
	point of view	*angle of looks: power, engagement or detachment*
	modality[81]	*photographs, graphs, diagrams*
COMPOSITIONAL MEANING (textual)	**information value**	*placement of elements: left, right, centrality, marginality*
	framing	*framelines, connection or disconnection of elements*
	salience	*size, color, contrasts*

Source: Own elaboration based on Kress and van Leeuwen (2006).

p.29). In a personal communication, he told me: "I am not critical of Van Leeuwen's analysis of images or actors, but of the framework and limitation to clause structure (instead of discourse structure) (...) [and] the (arcane) terminology of describing verbs, which I bet are a horror for contemporary linguists" (May 5, 2013).

[81] According to Kress and van Leeuwen "(…) modality is `interpersonal' rather than `ideational'. It does not express absolute truths or falsehoods, it *produces* shared truths aligning readers or listeners with some statements and distancing them from others" (2006, p.155)

The categories in the table correspond to semiotic resources that are highly intertwined: it is mainly an artificial distinction for analytic purposes. In this sense, it works as a navigational tool to accomplish a more systematic interpretation of the advertisements I analyze in Chapter 6, in order to determine who and how is represented in the commercial image *–actor/s or participants–*,[82] what is s/he doing *–action–* and where the action takes place *–setting–*. This offers a toolkit of scientifically valid resources for interpretative work, in response to critiques that have emphasized the polysemic nature of visual language. According to Jewitt and Oyama (2001), while "something may be filled in differently by different viewers (…) the range of possible interpretations is not unlimited" (2001, p.141). Next subsections describe in more detail the components of Table 4.2.

Representational meaning

"Representational meaning is first of all conveyed by the (abstract or concrete) 'participants' (people, places or things) depicted" (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001, p.141) and the ways in which they are connected in at least two possible ways: narratively or conceptually. Simply put, the former refers to ways of "doing" through the presence of a vector that conveys some type of action, while the latter refers to ways of "being" and lacks a vector. In narrative structures, "vectors may be formed by bodies, or limbs or tools `in action' (…) [often] diagonal lines of action" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p.59). The gaze or glance that a represented participant directs towards another one can be also considered another kind of vector, which instead of an action it motivates a reaction or response that is made visible "by facial expressions" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p.67). Both actions and reactions can be transactive (if both actor and object of re/action are shown in the image) or non-transactional (if only the actor, but not the object of the re/action, is shown). The importance of identifying vectors relies on their implications for power relationships and different degrees of agency between participants, including the active-passive distinction between an actor-participant who directs and action and a goal-participant who receives the effects of such action. If vectors are absent, then images have *conceptual structures*.

[82] Actors and participants do not necessarily coincide because sometimes represented participants are not actors but just carriers of meaning (Machin, 2007, p.127). See for example the analysis of advertising poster WU-1 (Figure 6.14) in Chapter 6.

When there is more than one participant, they are displayed separately from each other and no direct relationship seems to connect them. There might be symbolic attributes through the use of diverse objects with culturally strong connotations (e.g. books for literacy, money for good living standards, flowers for happy moments).

> Symbolic attributes "define the meaning or identity of a participant [through their] salience in the representation, for example by their size, position, color, use of lighting; they are pointed out by means of a gesture; they look out of place in the whole; they are conventionally associated with symbolic values" (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001, p.144)

There are two more important dimensions of the representational meaning: the setting and the visual appearance of social actors. Settings provide contextual information on the action by indicating a specific place that can be described in terms of indoors or outdoors, urban or rural, modern or old, among many other possibilities. For the purpose of the current research, it will be interesting to determine whether settings refer to places of origin or destination within migratory processes. The visual appearance of social actors includes body and cultural markers (such as gender, ethnicity, age, posture and clothing) as well as objects they might be holding and other characters represented next to them. Together with settings, body and cultural markers might have powerful effects on viewers when suggesting diverse conjectures on the culturally expected roles they play in society. For example, a man in a suit on the street might represent a white-collar worker and breadwinner, while a woman portrayed with children at home might represent housework and family care. When characters are represented alone, it "has the effect of drawing us [viewers] close to specific people and therefore humanising them" (Machin, 2007, p.118), activating processes of identification. Visual collectivisation, however, "realised by images that show groups or crowds (…) 'homogenis' (…) [or] turn [them] into types" (Machin, 2007, p.119). This categorization involves representing people "with [cultural or biological] attributes that connote stereotyped characteristics" (Machin 2007, p.122). Stereotypes are oversimplified representations of reality that help us to understand and predict the social world. However, their conflation with reality often lead to reductive conceptualizations of some social groups, usually disempowered and with no resources to reverse the false

representations others elaborate of their own experiences. For instance, when people are represented in generic ways –instead of through their specificities– as standing for constructed types (e.g. racial type black, cultural type Muslim), the intrinsically changing, multiple and highly ambiguous nature of identities are fixed, contributing to the perpetuation of prejudices.

Interactive meaning

The second dimension in Table 4.2 focuses on the relationships between interactive participants and represented ones:

> The former are the participants in the act of communication –the participants who speak and listen or write and read, make images or view them, whereas the latter are the participants who constitute the subject matter of communication; that is, the people, places and things (including abstract `things') represented in and by the speech or writing or image, the participants about whom or which we are speaking or writing or producing images" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p.48).

In the advertising pieces I analyze, the interactive participants are a heterogeneous group composed of the enunciators of the commercial messages (mainly the designers of the advertising campaigns, the marketing strategists and sales managers who requested the campaign) and the viewers who interact with the messages, such as actual and potential customers, the interviewed people and me. Since advertising's ultimate goal is to establish some level of interaction with the target public, many semiotic resources aim to call their attention, using "emphatic tones" (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009, p.203) to influence their purchasing options. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) underlined four elements that describe interactive meaning: contact, distance, point of view and modality.

- *Contact* involves that represented participants address "directly at the viewer" through looks, postures and/or gestures that "demand" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p.145) some reaction. "Without this kind of 'imaginary contact' (…) we 'observe' [represented actors] in a detached way and impersonally as though they are specimens in a display case" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p.146). However, if represented participants look off the frame of the image, they make the viewer to

focus on their inner world of thoughts and –more importantly in advertising– on their feelings, drawing the attention away from their attributes as individuals (Machin, 2007, p.124).

- *Distance* between the viewer and the represented character also influences identification processes. It is shown according to the "size of frame" of the photograph or drawing of the person, meaning that the bigger it is, the affectively closer the viewer might feel to the person in question: "A close-up (head and shoulders or less) suggests an intimate/personal relationship (…) and a 'long shot' (showing the full figure, whether just fitting in the frame or even more distant) suggests an impersonal relationship" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p.146).

- The *point of view* describes the angle of look from which the represented participant makes visual contact with the viewer, which in turn might mean powerful (bird's eye), detachment or powerless (oblique angle) or engagement (frontality). Depending on the context and aim of the research, the angle of look can take diverse interpretations. For instance, in an early analysis of the representations of gender roles in advertising, Canadian sociologist Ervin Goffman found that women were usually portrayed looking off frame. He called this mechanism of representation "licenced withdrawal" (Goffman, 1979) and interpreted it as a way in which women were "removed psychologically from the social situation at large, leaving them unoriented in it, and presumably, therefore, dependent on the protectiveness and goodwill of others" (Goffman, 1979, p.57).

Modality is another resource of interactional meaning that consists of "the truth value or credibility" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p.155) of a visual or verbal statement, as defined and understood by different social groups in specific contexts. It is a shared cultural attitude towards what can be considered reliable representations in terms of their resemblance to 'reality'. According to the authors, "the dominant standard by which we judge visual realism, and hence visual modality, remains for the moment naturalism as conventionally understood, `photorealism' (…) based on the appearance of things" (2006, p.158). In Western culture, there is a long standing history of hegemony of the visual over

other senses (e.g. smell, touch and taste) that has led to a "visual essentialism" (Bal, 2003) that too often has been put to the service of hegemonic powers such as nationalism, colonialism, imperialism and sexism (cf. (McClintock, 1995). Depending on the genre of representation, it is possible to classify images in terms of their high or low modality, for example in scientific texts, graphs and diagrams might bear higher modality than photographs (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p.156-157). However, in advertising texts, higher modality is often realized through the use of photographs with realistic modality markers (color, scale, setting, illumination, etc.) based on "sensory coding orientations (…) [in which] pleasure and affective meanings" (Bernstein as cited in Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p.165) predominate.

Compositional meaning

The third classification of meaning according to Table 4.2 involves considering how advertisements of connectivity services that target migrants are composed, in terms of their information value, framing and salience. *Information value* is determined by the position of the elements within the frame of the advertisement, according to culturally established "directions of the reading of a text (left to right, from top to bottom)" (Jewitt and Oyama, 2001, p.148) in Western societies. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) different placements convey the following meanings:

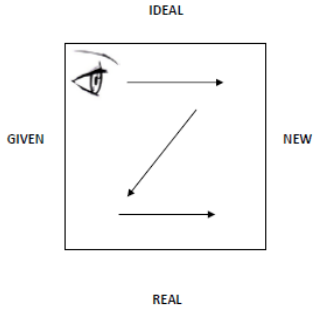


Figure 4.1. Placement of elements and visual meaning. Own elaboration based on Kress and van Leeuwen (2006)

The given is “something the viewer already knows (…) commonsensical and self-evident” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p.181). The new is unexpected or not necessarily agreed by the viewer so it demands her “special attention”. The ideal is what is “presented as the idealized or generalized essence of the information” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p.181). The real is “more 'down to earth information' (…) specific information (for example, details), more practically oriented information (...)” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p.181). The elements placed at the centre usually work as connectors of the other depicted elements.

Framing is about different degrees of connection between the compositional elements of an image. Apart from vectors as previously mentioned, it can be determined by the presence or absence of “framelines (…) empty spaces (…) contrasts of color or form” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p.177) regarding both visual and written texts. This relates to *salience*, when elements outstand for their different size, colors and textures.

The context and genre of the texts under study already direct interpretative analysis, which is reinforced by the possibility of systematically identifying the most relevant semiotic resources with the potential to activate specific readings or interpretations in viewers with similar cultural backgrounds or experiences. In combination, these elements might evidence some patterns in the construction of stereotypes on migrants’ visual representation, as well as the ideological assumptions towards migration at work more generally. Apart from the visual analysis of ads, this dissertation drew on a detailed analysis of written texts that I present in Chapter 5, in accordance with the theoretical and methodological inputs of CDS detailed in the next sections.

4.2. Discourse Studies: from Foucault to Fairclough

Textual analysis is a common element in both CS and CDS but, as we will see, while in the former it can be marginal or randomly elaborated, it is essential to the latter. This section considers the theoretical and methodological elements that the CDS perspective has contributed with to the current research. Figure 4.2 illustrates the structure of this section, which starts describing the broader field known as Discourse Studies (DS), the umbrella term that includes CDS among other analytical and political options. Then, I will

acknowledge the various approaches proposed as CDS, mentioning some of the early contributions of those who are considered the pioneers in the field, namely linguists Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and Teun van Dijk. Thirdly, I will narrow the focus down towards the socio-cognitive approach within the CDS world, as proposed by van Dijk.

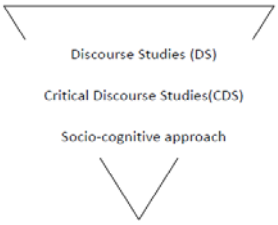


Figure 4.2. Embedding of Discourse Studies approaches. Own elaboration.

Discourse Studies, including CDS, have been historically engaged in textual analysis, evolving towards more comprehensive approaches in which contextual factors have acquired more importance. Even when written and spoken language remains a key part of the analysis today, this textual dimension articulates with other extra-textual features that participate in the construction of meaning, namely the social, political and economic environments in which texts are created, circulated and contested. Contemporary DS emerged in the 1960s and early 1970s nurtured by various disciplines of the humanities and the social sciences, namely anthropology, sociology, various strands derived from linguistics and psychology, semiotics, pragmatics and, more recently, communication studies (van Dijk, 2000a, 2009a). The influence of the linguistic and cultural turns experienced in most of these areas of knowledge resulted in a wider interest on the study of language, texts and discourses as structuring devices of reality and not as a mere reflection or medium to express it.

In this context, language can be broadly defined as human "systems of representation" or "signifying practices" (Hall, 1997, pp. 4-5) expressed through various *media or resources* situated in particular social *contexts*. *Resources* can be written texts with linguistic features, but also visual images, interview transcripts and web pages (Fairclough, 2003, p.3) among others. Their *use* implies a pragmatic dimension that considers discourse

as action, as *practice* that affects the way we understand the world. In Fairclough's words, "Discourse is a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning" (Fairclough, 1992, p.64). Moreover, discourse analysis itself is also a practice. These practices are *contextual*, that is, embodied and embedded. They are embodied by institutional, collective, individual or other actors, embedded in particular spatio-temporal settings and relationships, and they have effects.

The work of French philosopher Michael Foucault is considered to have had great influence on DS (Fairclough, 1992, p.36; Martín Rojo, 2006, p.170; Rose, 2007, p.146; Wodak, 2008, p.5, and elsewhere), leading to a first big distinction of approaches: DS concerned with "the linguistic features of texts" (Fairclough, 2003, p.2) and those that are not. This basic distinction has located Foucauldian approaches in a different register than the CDS ones, not as irreconcilable agendas but as quite different standpoints and research focuses. Fairclough distinguished his own work from Foucault's, while also acknowledging the French scholar's "important contribution to a social theory of discourse in such areas as the relationship of discourse and power, the discursive construction of social subjects and knowledge, and the functioning of discourse in social change" (Fairclough, 1992, pp.37-38). The distinction proposed by Fairclough between a textually oriented DS and a non-textually oriented one is further elaborated as two distinctive research fields on

1. the "communicative event" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.67) or discursive construction of social representations (Martin Rojo, 2006, p.170), and
2. the social order of discourse

The former refers to "the study of how discourses order, organise, institute, our interpretation of events and society and also include opinions, values and ideologies" (Martin Rojo, 2006, p.170, my translation). It is oriented towards identifying discursive resources within various texts at the expense of considering the social practices associated to these formations, that is "the social institutions that produced, archived, displayed or sold them, and the effects of those practices" (Rose, 2007, p.170). Such practices are the domain of the latter research field on the social order of discourse: "the study of how this generative power of discourses is socially managed, how discourses are socially distributed,

how they are assigned a different social value according to who produce them and where they are disseminated" (Martin Rojo 2006, p.171). The current research articulates both DS approaches. As Rose (2007) observed in her work on visual discourse analysis, "the distinction is not clear-cut. It is not difficult to find work that examines visual images, verbal texts, institutions and social practices together" (2007, p.146) but she also argued for a separate discussion that differentiates methodologies and results. Below, I refer briefly to the social order of discourse, while in subsequent sections in this chapter I will focus on the textual analysis.

4.2.1. The order of discourse

The expression "order of discourse" was coined by Foucault in a seminal lecture in the Collège de France. The text did not provide a specific nor clear definition of what discourse means but, according to Wodak (2008), it was revealing in two related ways: firstly, it proposed a complex approach in which discourse "is not an object but rather a set of relationships existing between discursive events" (2008, p.5). Secondly, it "enable[d] the cultural critic to identify both static and dynamic relationships between discursive events and to address the causes and consequences of historical change" (2008, p.5). Foucault observed that discourses were constitutive of key spheres of life such as sexuality, politics and scientific knowledge. He also found that each of them had particular "procedures of exclusion" (1981, p.52), namely prohibition, madness and the opposition between true and false (1981, pp.25-24) respectively. He argued that discourses were not "transparent or neutral" (1981, p.52) but sites of struggle for meaning in which power manifested itself in very diverse ways:

> In every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality (Foucault, 1981, p.210).

Instead of taking discourses for granted, this perspective puts the hierarchical mechanisms that produce them at the centre of the analysis, revealing its constructed,

historical, thus modifiable nature. Fairclough re-appropriated Foucault's non-linguistic approach and imbued it with the strength of textual analysis: "An order of discourse is a social structuring of semiotic difference –a particular social ordering of relationships between different ways of meaning-making– different genres, discourses and styles" (Fairclough, 2009, p.164). Depending on the source of discourse production, the context of enunciation, the purpose, among other factors, different discourses will be differently positioned in terms of their social legitimation, area of influence and impact. In this sense, Fairclough observed the role of dominance in the always contested ordering of discourses:

> One aspect of this ordering is dominance: some ways of making meaning are dominant or mainstream in a particular order of discourse, others are marginal, or oppositional, or 'alternative'. (…) A particular social structuring of semiotic difference may become hegemonic, become part of the legitimizing common sense which sustains relations of domination, though hegemony is always open to contestation to a greater or lesser extent. An order of discourse is not a closed or rigid system, but rather an open system, which can be changed by what happens in actual interactions (Fairclough, n.d., p.4).

Summarizing the work of Fairclough, Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) stated that "examples of orders of discourse include the (...) media, the health service or an individual hospital (...)" (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, p.67). In the fields of migration and connectivity this research is concerned with, it is possible to identify several orders of discourse. In terms of migration, numerous discourses circulate in mainstream media, political scenarios (e.g. parliamentary debates) as well as in private actors' settings (e.g. companies). These all constitute different orders that sometimes coincide and others compete in their definition, approach and interests around migration. The political order is especially predominant here because migration is a politically defined category, associated with the belonging –or not– of certain people to territorially defined nation states. Mainstream mass media tends to collaborate with hegemonic political discourses (e.g. governments' accounts, official versions, etc.), amplifying and legitimating them.

In terms of connectivity, the most clear example of a hegemonic order of discourse are the technologically deterministic ones, according to which technology impacts on society in an unidirectional and predictable way. Historically, techno-scientific innovations

have been accompanied by a dense discursive mesh of futurist predictions and emancipatory promises, giving the impression that sometimes "history stutters" (Flichy, 2007, p.1). Similarly to what happened with the invention of printing technology, electricity, trains, radio and television, the digital technologies awaked all kind of speculations and assumptions about its democratic and liberatory potential in every sphere of society (Mosco, 2004, p.22).[83]

After giving an overview of the main characteristics of DS as a field of knowledge and mentioning some theoretical debates associated to it, I will focus on the second level of the triangle in Figure 4.2 above: CDS.

4.2.2. Beyond the text and the neutral: Critical Discourse Studies (CDS)

One of the key issues in the theorisation of CDS has been the relationship between discourse and society, of text in context (van Dijk, 2003), and analysts' strong commitment to make visible power inequalities in order to change them. Different scholars and schools within CDS have proposed their own conceptual models to tackle this and other issues of interest. A recent overview provided in Wodak and Meyer (2009) distinguished at least six CDS approaches: discursive-historical, corpus-linguistics, social actor theory, dispositive analysis, dialectical relational and the socio-cognitive approach (2009, p.20). I will consider two of them in more depth since they were especially useful in my analysis: van Leeuwen' social actor theory and van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach. Before that, however, I offer a brief overview of some of Fairclough's most influential conceptualisations in the CDS field.

Fairclough proposed a dialectical understanding of the relationship between discourse and society in order to avoid one-sided determinations that might "turn discourse into a mere reflection of a deeper social reality (…) [or that] idealistically represents discourse as a source of the social" (1992, p.65). In this line of thinking, he elaborated a

[83] Two opposed sub-orders emerged in this techno-deterministic paradigm: the utopians and the dystopians. The former defend a positive effect of technology, while the latter consider all technological innovations as inevitably negative for social organisation.

tridimensional model of discourse composed of *dimensions, functions and effects,* which acknowledged the mutual constitution of the social and the discursive. He organized each element following again a tridimensional outline for sub-categories, as follows:

Table 4.3. Fariclough's (1992) tridimensional model of discourse.

a) dimensions	textual	discursive	social
b) effects	identity	relationships	knowledge
c) functions		relational	ideational

Source: own elaboration, based on Fairclough (1992).

a) Dimensions: Continuing with the three-element structure, Fairclough distinguished between three dimensions of discourse: *textual, discursive* and *social*, a model that has been further worked out by other authors (Martin Rojo 2001, p.166), including Teun van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach that has inspired my own research work. Van Dijk introduced a new dimension he called "cognitive", which mediates between discourse and society, and constitutes a crucial element to understand their interaction. Cognition is the mental processes experienced by individuals in social contexts, which shape our attitudes, our beliefs, our ways of thinking and of constructing knowledge about ourselves in relation with others and the environment. I will consider this model in detail in the next section. In Fairclough's model, the *textual* dimension involves a descriptive task (1992, p.73) and it is based on the principles of American structural linguistics. It focuses on a micro level analysis that identifies textual structures in terms of "text-internal" (Wodak, 2008, p.9) elements, namely cohesion and coherence[84] (Martin Rojo, 2001, p.166-167). The *discursive* and *social* dimensions of discourse involve mainly interpretative tasks (Fairclough 1992, p.73). The *discursive* dimension focuses on "the relations between the text and its context" (Martín Rojo, 2001, p.167) in a meso level of. The *social* dimension follows "the French school of discourse analysis and, later on, the so called critical linguistics (…) it points out the dialectic relation between social structures and relations (…)" (Martín Rojo, 2001, p.167).

[84] As we will see, the socio-cognitive approach offers a different understanding of coherence as subjective and not only intra-textual.

b) Effects. Fairclough highlighted how discourse influences the construction of "social *identities* (…) social *relationships* and systems of *knowledge* and belief" (1992, p.64, *emphasis added*). For the purposes of the current research, the analysis of corporate discourses will reveal the representation of specific subject positions −such as the connected migrant and the protective corporation−, the construction of new relationships −such as the commercial ones between service providers and migrant users, or personal relationship within transnational families−, reflecting the emergence of a different system of knowledge about immigrants.

c) Functions. Fairclough matched each effect with different *functions* of language: ideational, relational and identity functions, which echoed Halliday's. From this complex theory, it is worth mentioning the concept of transitivity in the ideational function because it "enables the representation (...) of an implied extra-linguistic reality (…) rendered intelligible [through two elements] 'process' and 'participant'" (Barker & Galasiński, 2001, p.70). Broadly speaking, transitivity is about the relationships of actors and their actions: *who* does *what* to *whom*, and can be summarized in the following table:

Table 4.4. Elements of transitivity in Halliday's model: processes and participants.

Processes	Participants
material	actors and goals
mental	sensers and phenomenon
relational	carriers/identified and attributes /identifiers
behavioural	behavers
verbal	sayers and targets
existential	those who are

Source: own elaboration based on Barker and Galasiński (2001, p.70)

Halliday's categories also nurtured the social-semiotic approach which helped me to systematize the analysis of corporate discourses, in particular advertising, as I explained in Section 4.1. of this chapter.

4.2.3. Bearing something in mind: the socio-cognitive approach

The socio-cognitive approach proposed by Dutch linguist Teun van Dijk is based on a triad discourse-cognition-society that highlights how our mental processes mediate between discursive interaction and society (van Dijk, 1997, 2000b, 2009a, 2011) and elsewhere). Although I did not apply it in the empirical analysis, its theoretical inputs have been extremely influential in my whole understanding of CDS, in particular for its conceptualization of social representations and ideology.

In this view, subjectivities acquire a special explanatory power in the analysis of discourses, not in isolation but always in relation to meanings shared by individuals who are part of social groups. A socio-cognitive understanding of meaning and interpretation focuses on "mental operations and representations" (van Dijk, 2009, p.76), in particular, three ones: *event models*, *context models*, and *social representations*. *Event models* can be broadly defined as semantics, but under a new light. Instead of traditional socio-linguistic approaches in terms of "concepts, propositions and their mutual relations" (van Dijk, 2009a, p.76), event models refer to mental models or constructs that language users create in order to make sense of reality as both subjective and social experiences. They include a pragmatic dimension, defined as *context models*. For van Dijk, context is not only an external and objective element that serves as backdrop of discourse, but a constitutive part of it as generated by enunciators in the discursive practice:

> It is not simply some kind of social environment, situation or structure –such as the social 'variables' of gender, age or `race' in classical sociolinguistics. Rather, a context is a subjective mental representation, a dynamic online model, of the participants about the –for them– now relative properties of the communicative situation (van Dijk, 2009a, p.66).

Event models, including context models, are organized by three main categories with their corresponding subcategories: a) Spatio-temporal setting, b) Participants/Actors

and Actions, including "identities, roles, relationships; goals; knowledge; and ideologies" and c) Events, or "the ongoing social action" (van Dijk, 2009a, p.74).

Social representations are another kind of mental representation that pays special attention to "knowledge, attitudes, values, norms and ideologies" (van Dijk, 2009a, p.78) as shared by various individuals grouped in different social and institutional settings. For the purposes of the current research, considering social representations implies acknowledging, at least partially, the simultaneity of micro and macro levels in the triad discourse-cognition-society, as synthesized in the following table:

Table 4.5. Simultaneity of micro and macro levels in the triad discourse-cognition-society.

	DISCOURSE: use of language, communicative event	**COGNITION:** mental models	**SOCIETY:** interaction
macro level	macropropositions, topoi, global meanings	social level: aims, values and representations of selves and others	global structures: socio-political-economic context, transnational strategies
micro level	discursive structures: syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and rhetoric	personal level: emotions, memories, beliefs, self and others' perceptions	microstructures: individual migratory projects and local strategies

Source: own elaboration based on van Dijk (2003).

The socio-cognitive approach acknowledged the historical conceptualization of ideology by Marxist authors such as Louis Althusser and Antonio Gramsci, but reformulates it in cognitive terms as follows:

> Ideology is "a complex cognitive framework that controls the formation, transformation, and application of other social cognitions, such as knowledge, opinions, and attitudes, and social representations, including social prejudices (...) an ideology assigns coherence among social attitudes, which in turn codetermine social practices. It should be stressed that ideological social cognitions are not systems of individual beliefs or opinions, but essentially those of members of social formations or institutions" (van Dijk, 1989, p.24).

Ideologies are a particularly relevant objects of CD analysis because “they are typically expressed and reproduced by discourse” (van Dijk, 2009a, p.79) but they are not usually made explicit in it, and analysts need to make visible the argumentative and rhetoric structures that instantiate them. This is complicated by the fact that “there is no direct link between discourse and ideology” (van Dijk, 200a9, p.79) neither a general structure. However, van Dijk (2011) proposed a schematic structure based on the following categories:

- “Identity (Who are we? Who belong to us Where do we come from);
- Activities (What do we usually do? What is our task?)
- Goals (What do we want to obtain?)
- Norms and values (What is good/bad; permitted/prohibited to us?)
- Group relations (Who are our allies and opponents?)
- Resources (What is the basis of our power, or our lack of power?)” (2011, p.386)

I will consider some of these categories in the empirical analysis of corporate discourses in Chapters 5 to 7 that focus on the representation of social actors: individual and institutional ones, both self-presentations (corporations) and mediated or others' presentations (how migrants present corporations, how corporations present migrants).

Part of CDS' commitment to make visible the links between discourse and power requires paying special attention to gaps in the text: what is not mentioned or omitted in all the three levels (global and local meanings, and argumentation). In socio-cognitive terms, this involves the interplay of two different −and probably opposed− mental models: the author of the text's, who hides some information, and “the mental model of a critical reader” (van Dijk, 2009a, p.71) who is able to uncover the omission. Omissions can work at various levels in the representation of actors (e.g. when they are excluded) and actions (when actors are passivized and not represented as the active agents). These and other mechanisms of representation were conceptualized by Dutch linguist Theo van Leeuwen in his social actor theory, which analytical tools have been useful in my analysis of how corporate discourses represent immigrants.

4.2.4. Playing different roles: social actor theory

Van Leeuwen defined his social actor theory "as a systematic socio-semantic framework of the way humans can be represented in English" (van Leeuwen, 2009, p.277). Although he drew on linguistic analysis, he defined his approach as more sociological than linguistic, proposing a set of "representational choices" (1996, p.34) that might help analysts to identify the different ways in which participants appear (or not) in a text and how this all relate to social practices. He conceptualized a schema composed of ten categories that are not exclusive but might overlap: Exclusion, Role Allocation, Generic and specific reference, Assimilation, Association and dissociation, Indetermination and differentiation, Nomination and categorisation, Functionalization and identification, Personalisation and impersonalization, and Overdetermination (1996). Each category might contain different subcategories; below I will summarize the ones I have found most useful for my analysis:[85]

1. Exclusion. "Representations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relations to the readers for whom they are intended" (1996, p.38). The author defines two kinds of exclusions: suppression and backgrounding. In the case of suppression, "there is no reference to the social actor(s) in questions anywhere in the text (…) In the case of backgrounding, the exclusion is less radical: the excluded social actors may not be mentioned in relation to a given activity, but they are mentioned elsewhere in the text (…)" (1996, p.39).

2. Role allocation refers to "the roles that social actors are given to play in representations (…) with either active or passive roles. *Activation* occurs when social actors are represented as the active, dynamic forces in an activity, *passivation* when they are represented as `undergoing' the activity, or as being `the receiving end of it' (…) the

[85] This is a simplified account; please refer to the original article where the concepts are fully elaborated, nuanced and exemplified.

passivized social actor can be subjected or beneficialized. Subjected social actors are treated as objects in the representation (…)" (1996, p. 42-44).

Van Leeuwen pays special attention to the incongruence between grammatical roles (assigned through linguistic features) and sociological roles (defined in social practices). This means that in some phrasing, an actor can be grammatically invested with agency but, in practice, she is sociologically passive, as in the example "People of Asian descent say they received a sudden cold-shoulder from neighbours and co-workers" (1996, p.32-33).

3. Generic and specific reference. "(…) Social actors can be represented as classes or as specific, identifiable individuals (…) generisation may be realised by the plural without article (…) and by the singular with a definite or indefinite article" (1996, p.46-47). Some examples of generisations I found in my corpus are "the customer" and "a person". According to van Leeuwen, "agents and experts tend to be referred to specifically, and `ordinary people' generically" (1996, p.47).

4. Assimilation becomes manifest when actors' individuality is not considered because they are grouped in some unified category. Van Leeuwen (1996) defines "two major kinds of assimilation, *aggregation* and *collectivisation*. The former quantifies groups of participants, treating them as statistics, the other does not" (1996, p.48-49). In the same line of the previous point on generic and specific references, the author highlights the importance of these distinctions in current societies in which mainstream newspapers tend to "individualise elite persons and assimilate `ordinary people'" (1996, p.48).

5. Association and dissociation. Association represents social actors as part of a group, in a temporary or permanent way. For example, "associations lump different ethnic origins together" (1996, p.51).

6. Indetermination and differentiation. "Indetermination occurs when social actors are represented as unspecified `anonymous' individuals or groups, determination when their identity is, one way or the other, specified. Indetermination is typically realised by indefinite pronouns (`somebody', `someone', `some', `some people') (...) differentiation explicitly differentiates an individual social actor or group of social actors from a similar

actor or group, creating the difference between the `self' and the `other', or between `us' and `them' (1996, p.51-52).

7. Nomination and categorisation. "Social actors can be represented in terms of their unique identity by being nominated, or in terms of identities and functions they share with others (*categorisation*) (…) Nomination is typically realised by proper nouns " (1996, p.52-53).

8. Functionalization and identification. The former refers to functions actors share, usually conveyed through the use of the "er" suffixes (e.g. customer, lawyer, teacher). The latter presents three variations in van Leeuwen's model: classification, physical and relational. *Classification* occurs through categories such as "age, gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, and so on" (1996, p.54). "*Relational identification* represents social actors in terms of their personal, kinship or work relation to each other, and it is realised by a closed set of nouns denoting such relations: `friend', `aunt', `colleague', etc. Typically they are possesivated (...)by means of a possessive pronoun" (van Leeuwen 1996, p. 56). Physical identification "can be realised by nouns denoting physical characteristics (`blonde', `redhead', `cripple', and so on) or by adjectives (`bearded', `tall')" (1996, p.57).

9. Personalisation and impersonalization distinguish ways of representing social actors "as human beings" (1996, p.59) or in abstract and/or object-like way. An example of objectivation is spatialization, "in which social actors are represented by means of reference to a place" (1996, p. 59).

4.2.5. Template for the CDA of corporate discourse

One of the challenges scholars usually face when approaching CDS is finding the right methodological tools, since it combines a vast array of methods depending on the research questions and aims. As van Dijk (2003) claimed, "it does not exist anything like a «complete» discourse analysis in any practical sense: a «full» analysis of a short paragraph

could last months of work and take hundreds of pages" (2003, p.148, my translation). This task becomes more complex when multimodal analysis is involved, that is, considering "the way that signs are used in combination" (Machin, 2007, p.ix), including written and visual ones.

In this section, I outline a template for the analysis of written official texts (MS, PR and CSRS) I selected from the websites of WU and Lebara. I conducted a three layered process of analysis, identifying the following elements: 1) global themes or macro-propositions, 2) local meanings, with focus on the representation of immigrants and corporations, and 3) rhetoric and argumentation devices. 1 and 2 are semantic structures of the text, while 3 refers to "subtle formal structures" (van Dijk, 2009a). The three levels are highly interdependent and mutually constituted; for example, macro-propositions "contribute to the organisation of local meanings" (van Dijk, 2009a, p.70) and vice versa.

Step 1: Global themes

Firstly, I identified the global themes, usually expressed in the headlines of the documents as well as by the presence of topoi and vocabulary chosen to reinforce them. Van Dijk (2009a) recommended this first analytical step because it provides the overall topic of the text, it reflects the enunciator's aim and it might "represent the meaning or information most readers will memorize best of a discourse" (van Dijk, 2009a, p.68).

Step 2: Local meanings

Secondly, I looked at how the enunciators –companies– represented themselves in relation to migrants, paying special attention to the lexical dimension of nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs. This lexical level of analysis is what van Dijk has called "local meanings", together with the analysis of structures, the nature of and relations between propositions, such as coherence, "implications, presuppositions, levels of description, degrees of granularity and so on" (2009a, p.69). Implications are "propositions *inferred* from (the meaning of) actually expressed words, phrases, clauses or sentences of discourse (…) [and] presuppositions are a specific type of implications" (van Dijk, 2000, Section 4, para.4). From a socio-cognitive perspective, both implications and presuppositions will depend not

so much on the semantic level as on how people involved in the communicative event can make sense of them and find them "meaningful".

Since language involves a process of choosing linguistic elements from a system, the use and/or recurrence of specific words is not innocent but "result from speakers' or writers' selections according to the mental models they have about the events, or the more general believes they share socially" (van Dijk, 2003, p.153). Besides revealing "the ideological perspective of the author" (van Dijk, 2009a, p.70), wording can also lead to changing experiences through innovative vocabulary (Fairclough, 1992, p.77). Van Dijk made a distinction between propositions and words as follows:

> In the same way as propositions may have implications and presuppositions, also word meanings may have specific 'implications', often called 'connotations'. These connotations are not always −or seldom− in the dictionary, but often assigned on the basis of the cultural knowledge of the participants" (van Dijk, 2000, Section 4, para.13).

The effects of using particular nouns, pronouns and verbs in the representation of actors and actions are evidenced through van Leeuwen's social actor theory as developed in the previous section. For instance, pronouns might have a pragmatic identity with the capacity to perform specific actions. As we will see in corporate discourses, some of them are particularly recurrent, like the first-person plural "we", which according to Barker and Galasinski is "the pronoun most open to manipulation" (2001, p.75). In turn, verbs evidence processes of "role allocation" (van Leeuwen, 1996, p.42) as well as different degrees of agency (also called transitivity) for diverse actors.

Step 3: rhetoric and argumentation

Thirdly, I considered discursive structures in which meaning was "implicit or indirect" (van Dijk, 2009a, p.69), a characteristic of most propositions that, however, can become visible through the identification of the mental models of the enunciators of the text.

> In van Dijk's words: "Semantically speaking, a discourse is like the tip of an iceberg: only some of the propositions needed to understand a discourse are actually

> expressed; most other propositions remain *implicit,* and must be inferred from the *explicit* propositions" (2009a, p.77)

This "incompleteness" of meaning is revealed by enunciators' conscious and unconscious articulations of discourse:

> Consciously, there are "implications, presuppositions, allusions, vagueness and so on. (…) related to underlying beliefs, but not openly, directly or precisely asserted for various contextual reasons, including the well-known ideological objective to de-emphasize Our bad things and Their good things[86]" (2009, p.77).

These polarisations can be expressed through various textual resources, including lexical choices and metaphors (van Dijk, 2009a, p.70). Unconsciously, there are "syntactic structures, propositional structures, and rhetorical figures" (van Dijk, 2009a, p.72). Some of the most popular rhetorical figures are hyperboles and the so called "master tropes", such as, metaphors, metonyms, synecdoche and irony. Tropes challenge the denotative meaning of words and phrases, since they convey "senses beyond their literal meaning" (Chandler & Munday, 2011). Another rhetoric element I took into account is "extreme case formulations" which consist in descriptive elements that help to legitimise enunciators' claims, such as "brand new, 'forever' (...) 'every time' and 'everyone" (Pomerantz, 1986).

The template considers inputs from Critical Discourse Analysis generally, but follows specific guidelines proposed by the socio-cognitive approach as elaborated in van Dijk (2009a) and social actor theory as elaborated in van Leeuwen (1996, 2009).

[86] Also called "ingroup celebration and outgroup derogation" (van Dijk, 2009, p.81)

Table 4.6. Template for a Critical discourse Analysis of online official documents.

Conceptual Tool			Definition
Semantic structures	**1. Global theme/s**		macro-proposition, main topic of the text, reflects enunciator's aim
	2. Local meanings		lexical analysis
	2.1	**wording**	selection of nouns, verbs, pronouns
	2.2	**propositions**	structure and relations (implications and presuppositions) transitivity (processes and participants)
	2.3	**Social actor analysis**	
	exclusion		suppression and backgrounding
	role allocation		transitivity structures- activation/ passivation (subjected or beneficialized)
	generic/specific		classes / identifiable individuals
	assimilation	aggregation (quantification)/ collectivisation (mass nouns)	
	association/ dissociation		grouping of different actors for a specific circumstance
	indetermination/ differentiation		anonymous / Specified identities
	nomination/ categorisation		proper nouns/ Identities and functions
	im/personalisation		personal and possessive nouns/ Abstract nouns
	3. Subtle `formal' structures		rhetoric and argumentation devices (e.g. metaphors, hyperboles, extreme case formulations, etc.)

Source: own elaboration based on van Dijk (2009a) and van Leeuwen (1996, 2009).

4.3. Localizing the Subjects and Objects of Research: Constructing the Research Field

In this section, I aim to make explicit the process of constructing the research field according to two clearly differentiated methodological moments: textual analysis and qualitative interviews. The first one involved defining the corpus of corporate written and visual texts, looking for outdoor MP and MT advertising in Barcelona city and surroundings, print advertising in ethnic magazines and online texts of corporations' websites. By contrast, the second moment of the fieldwork, characterized for being very interactive, consisted in

interviewing 40 informants about their experiences as users (30) and providers (10) of MP and MT services. I already provided a schema with the elements involved in these two moments of the fieldwork in Table 1.2 (Chapter 1). Now I focus on the process of this data collection: firstly, I refer to how I interacted with key informants and I offer a brief personal, ethical and political reflection on how I experienced this process as a junior researcher. Secondly, I focus on the corpus of written and visual texts.

4.3.1. Deep listening: different voices on migrant connectivity

The interviews with migrant users were all held face to face and tape-recorded with their consent. Interviews with corporate spokespersons were also recorded and were conducted face to face or by telephone, and in some cases by email. Except for two spokespersons, nobody was particularly concerned about anonymity but in order to maintain a general criterion, I decided to use fictional names for migrants' interviewees and to refer to spokespersons interviewees with their professional position in their company.

The whole process of contacting interviewees was time-consuming and not exempt of difficulties in at least two aspects: access (finding the right person) and commitment (having time available and a collaborative attitude). Moreover, various persons acted as gatekeepers of information, providing or denying my access to informants due to their power position, either in a company or in the community (e.g. a migrants' association or public institution). The names of each subsection below partially illustrate my feelings when approaching two very different actors: the busy, competitive and glossy arena of private companies ruled by stock market values and strategic planning, in which I felt alien; and, the private lives of migrant people who I would reach in their house or familiar setting of preference, where some doors were open to sharing information, while others remained half-open or simply closed.

Entering the private actors' arena

In the preparation of interviews with company spokespersons the problem was not so much the gatekeepers but where to find the gate, especially with MP services. The complex structure of big corporations (also known as Mobile Network Operators or MNO) made it difficult to find the right person: huge organizations with multiple departments,

busy people and lack of comprehensive knowledge on the migrant public due to their broad segmentation of customers. On the contrary, smaller companies (also known as Mobile Virtual Network Operators or MVNO) were more accessible, both because they are usually oriented to migrants and they have less complex organizational structures.

The websites offered general contact channels mainly for customers and stakeholders, sometimes for job applicants and the press, but my telephone calls and emails bounced when I did not mention the exact name of the person I wanted to talk with. In the end, I contacted informants through different strategies, after a trial and error process: I opened a Twitter account to follow a company's profile (it did not work); I attended various events where company spokespersons participated (e.g. a conference organized by the Telefónica Foundation and the Ecuadorian national celebration day in Forum Park in Barcelona, where two telecom providers had their stands); I asked a friend of a friend who was in the business of MVNO; I took names from ethnic magazines where the companies advertised their services. Last, but not least, the institutional relationships between my university and some carriers were also helpful to find informants[87].

The pilgrimage I experienced in order to access the industry's first-hand story varied in complexity depending whether I found the right person and the company's internal policies[88]. Some respondents showed real interest in answering my questions about the importance of migrant customers for their business model, the commercial strategies for knowing, reaching and persuading them and the challenges involved. By contrast, others seemed mistrustful of my intentions. Many times, the interviewee did not want to answer questions which she/he considered "confidential information" (e.g. the percentages of customers of each nationality, their average expenses and patterns of usage of the service).

[87] These contacts were especially facilitated by my supervisor, Dr. Adela Ros; without her help and encouragement it would not have been possible to realize many of these interviews.

[88] At one occasion, I asked a key informant about a famous advertising campaign for migrants launched by his company, but he did not know it. At first, I interpreted this lack of knowledge as a negative indicator of his engagement with the topic of the interview (*Did I contact the right person?*). I suppose that the huge dimensions of the company, the multiplicity of areas and departments plus recent organizational changes have probably affected the level of information employees had. Given the difficulties for accessing informants within the big infrastructure of this company, this contact was my only chance to get a practitioner's first-hand account.

In one occasion, an interviewee based in the Barcelona headquarters of a company promised to send me extra information by email in order to complement the face to face interview. However, after various follow-up contacts, her attitude changed dramatically: she explained that she had received strict orders from the direction in Madrid that she could not collaborate with me anymore and that their company must not be mentioned in my research because they "worked in a very competitive market and couldn't share any information with people alien to the group" (personal communication, March 3, 2011).

In all, I interviewed nine company spokespersons of two MT agencies (Western Union and Money Gram), seven telecoms (MNO: Movistar, Orange, Vodafone and Yoigo; MVNO Lebara, Orbitel and Más Móvil) and one salesperson who retailed minutes for international calls to *locutorios* in Catalonia (Teleminutos). These interviews started in 2010 and continued throughout 2011 and the first semester of 2012, overlapping with the interviews I held with migrant informants between 2011 and 2012.[89] These encounters were fruitful to get the corporate logic behind marketing strategies and served a double purpose. Firstly, they were exploratory, helping me to get familiar with the phenomenon under study and to identify relevant topics. Secondly, they guided me in other stages of the fieldwork and the analysis, articulating company spokesperson's accounts with the discursive analysis of ads and online texts, and the interpretation of migrants' responses[90]. As part of the political economy of discourses on migrant connectivity, practitioners' answers contributed to understanding the context of production of such discourses. This proved particularly useful after considering Swales and Rogers' (1995) conclusion of their analysis of organisational communication: "We find sufficient anomalies between text and context to suggest that any interpretation of discourse that relies principally only in the former is likely to be incomplete" (Swales & Rogers, 1995, p.225).

Knocking at migrants' doors

The interviews I held with migrants were also part of two research projects carried out within the Migration and Network Society Program, IN3-UOC: Immigrant women in the

[89] For details on dates, places and interviewed people, see Appendix E.

[90] The guiding questionnaire for company spokespersons is in Appendix F.

Catalan network society, supported by L'Institut Català de les Dones (Catalan Institute for Women), and E-administration and immigration in Catalonia, supported by Generalitat de Catalunya (the Catalan Government). These projects' research design included qualitative interviews about migrants' ICT use, coinciding with relevant issues for my own research. As a junior researcher, conducting my work along with these research projects constituted a good opportunity for personal and academic growth, where I could become part of a research team[91] and participate in inspiring discussions to elaborate the joint questionnaire. On the one hand, it enriched the context of my initial research questions and design, expanding my initial focus on MP use exclusively, towards a more inclusive approach that also considered the wider technological environment in which MP use is embedded (computer mediated communication, *locutorio* access, landline telephony, etc.). On the other hand, I enriched this questionnaire with more focused questions on the costs of communication and on MT as important trans/national practices to keep in touch.

I conducted semi-structured interviews with 30 persons who generously shared their time and narratives of migration in times of financial crisis and network society. The first part of the interview[92] included questions about people's practices to communicate with close relatives living abroad, with focus on MP and MT in the management of these relationships. Questions ranged from who were involved in the processes of keeping in touch, to the frequency, meaning, pros and cons of virtual encounters and distant relationships, as well as the different ICT that complemented MP usage. I also included questions about the budget employed in accessing connectivity services, changes of providers and the degree of satisfaction with them. The second part of the interview consisted in a joint reading of 12 purposively selected advertisement pieces. Questions were open ended and invited interviewees to say their first opinions and feelings when looking at them: if they liked them or not and why, if they felt identified with some character or situation, if they got enough information.

[91] When I started my PhD process in 2010-2011, MNS was formed by Dr. Adela Ros (Director), MA Graciela de la Fuente Vilar and Dr. Mihaela Vancea (Research Assistants). Then Ferrán Ferrer joined as Research Assistant for the MNS projects.

[92] See the guiding questionnaire for migrants in Appendix G.

The sample of interviewees included 16 Ecuadorians (seven men and nine women) and 14 Moroccans (six men and eight women) aged between 18 and 57. Initially, my sampling consisted of a similar proportion of male and female respondents of different ages from both origins who lived in Barcelona. The final sample, however, followed other criteria in accordance with the projects mentioned above, namely a proportionally equal representativeness of different generations (young people aged between 18 and 35; adults aged over 35), educational levels (basic: primary education; medium: complete high-school; high: complete tertiary education) and cities of residence, according to the Catalan municipalities with the highest population density of Morocco born people –Reus– and Ecuador born people –L'Hospitalet de Llobregat– (Ros et al., 2012, p.28). Figure 1.4 shows their location in Catalonia. L'Hospitalet de Llobregat is a municipality located in the Barcelonés region, next to Barcelona city. It is the second most populated municipality in Catalonia, and with the highest density of Ecuadorian residents (INE, 2010). Reus is located in the neighbouring municipality of Tarragona.

Figure 4.3. Two Catalan Municipalities with high density of immigrant population: Moroccans in Reus and Ecuadorians in L'Hospitalet.

Contacting the first potential migrant interviewees was not an easy task and I relied on the support of colleagues at University, personal recommendation as in a snow ball-driven sample and several other sources: my social networks, Universities' alumni database, the Ecuadorian consulate in Barcelona, immigrant departments in local governments, the *Consorci per a la Normalització Lingüística* (CNL, Consortium for Language Normalization[93]),

[93] CNL depends of the Catalan Government and supports its *policy to promote the Catalan language through various activities, including* courses for adults. Catalan authorities encourage non-EU foreigners to take these courses to evaluate procedures like family reunification and other ones related to demonstrate their local ties.

and migrant associations, as well as a training centre in one of the target municipalities. Each constituted a different challenge.

Although I knew from previous experiences that migrants' associations are not always representative[94], they constituted a first way to approach potential interviewees. The first day I met members of one of the Moroccan immigrant associations in Reus, I had not imagined the high expectations my visit "to make interviews for the university research I did in Barcelona" generated. Each of these words seemed to have activated a power I was unaware of, until I was picked up at Reus train station by a car driven by the president of the association in person. When we arrived at the premises the association rented, there were six men of different ages waiting for me next to a long table full of pancakes, almonds, pistachios, nuts and mint tea. They listened to my story in silence (what I did, what I needed, what I offered) and then they told me what they did (Arab courses for children and social events for the Moroccan neighbours of Reus), what they needed (computers, financial support and bigger premises) and the little support they had from the local authorities. My lack of ability to help the association disappointed them, and the president was the first one to leave the room. Other men stayed and accepted to be interviewed. When I asked if I could meet some Moroccan women they told me that "they had all gone on holidays to Morocco". In the end, I could only interview one of their wives and knock on someone else's door.

The CNL in Reus played an important role in facilitating my approach to Moroccan women, difficult to contact otherwise (apart from cultural mediators who worked for the municipality or at the religious NGO Caritas). However, there was an institutional requisite: the interviews had to be in Catalan language, though many times we switched to another language of our preference (Spanish or English) since neither the interviewee nor myself had mastered Catalan.

[94] During my MA thesis I contacted various Latin American migrants' associations in Granada and Madrid and I found they had very few active members.

When I was trying to contact Ecuadorian interviewees, I spoke with a woman from a folk music association who rejected my invitation, explaining her disappointment towards university researchers who made their interviews and then disappeared, without helping the people who helped them in the first place. I agreed with her and mentioned the token gift; I felt ashamed when she told me on the phone she did not care about it. She was rude, but right. Her attitude made me reflect about the consequences of extractive research in which research subjects are mere informants but do not have a say at any stage of the research design, unlike participatory action research. Thus, in extractive research informants rarely perceive the projects they are involved in as useful for their lives.

The episodes of the upset woman and the high expectant members of the Moroccan association illustrate how the field was never a static terrain in which predictable actors interacted: it presented itself as dynamic and complex, changing many of the assumptions I had approached it with in the first place. They reminded me that my own research was extractive and that my approach, though well intentioned, was rooted in a long tradition of scientific power institutionalized in academia. I designed it in a top-down process and I went to the fieldwork to take notes and ask questions in a unidirectional way, leaving it after the material had been collected. Despite the insurmountable power differences conveyed by my privileged position as researcher, with institutional back-up and funding, I started to feel part of my research beyond authorship. I found lots of things in common with my interviewees, especially regarding our telecommunication behaviours: I have a basic MP with prepaid subscription, I usually go to the *locutorio* to call abroad, I draw heavily on CMC, I get upset when internet connections are not fast, I am suspect of the fees set by MT agencies. This sense of shared experience was present from the beginning of the research process, helping me to develop questions and reflections in an intuitive way that complemented one of the cores of academic research: theoretical literature review.

4.3.2. Defining the Corpus of Corporate Discourses: Texts and/in Context

Before delving into the textual analysis in Chapter 5, this section describes the process of data collection and selection of the corpus, including the spatio-temporal setting in

which discourses inscribe and their particularities in terms of genre, functions and style. These elements shape and are shaped by the participants of communicative events –namely enunciators and addressees– and constitute important contextual information in the socio-cognitive approach of CDS in its efforts to identify the mental models of both producers and readers of texts. According to van Dijk, "cognitive operations are always formulated in relation to a specific context, for instance the intentions, goals or beliefs of speakers/writers and recipients" (van Dijk, 2000a, Section 4, paragraph 6).

The contextualization of the empirical material constitutes the first step in a socio-cognitive approach, and it has two levels: the global one, that is, the "overall societal domain (…) of business or the market" (van Dijk, 2009, p.74), as I described in Chapter 2, and the local one, that includes the setting of specific enunciators, partly described in Chapter 3 dedicated to the Catalan and Spanish context, and completed in this chapter with the reference to the particular corporate webpages, ethnic media and urban settings where I collected services and corporate advertisements. Some of the questions involved in the process of contextualization are: who is the enunciator of the text? In which spatio-temporal setting is it located? Who is the intended audience/reader/viewer? What is the aim/goal of the text? What is it genre, style and function?

The enunciators are companies of connectivity services which produce what I have called corporate discourses. Such a category might overlap with organisational and institutional discourses (Cheney, Christensen, Conrad, & Lair, 2004). However, by adding the adjective "corporate" I wanted to emphasize its origin in private interests and profit-driven mental models. Within this category, I have focused on two genres of discourse: advertising and focused interviews with spokespersons.

I considered the two types of advertising as defined by Doyle (2011): corporate and services. The former is part of business-to-business advertising, addressing employees (internal communication), stakeholders and investors (external communication). It includes online official documents, such as press releases (PR), mission statements (MS) and corporate social responsibility statements (CSR). The latter corresponds to the public promotion of MP and MT services, "directed and intended for domestic markets such as

individuals and families" (Wisegeek, 2012). Within this category, there is advertising disseminated through mass media channels −also known as "above-the-line"− and "directly targeted marketing techniques (such as direct selling initiatives, database marketing (…) telemarketing and, increasingly (...) techniques using the Internet)" −also known as "below-the-line"− (Wisegeek, 2012).

Discourses manifest themselves in distinctive genres of texts, with different styles and purposes or functions. Discourse styles are highly dependent on context models, so that whether they are "(…) formal, casual and popular discourse styles" (van Dijk, 2009a, p.69) will depend on the communicative situation. In particular, corporate discourses follow a strict protocol of communication marked by the company's major principles: "most institutional text and talk is contextually constrained by the specific aims and norms of institutional interaction and organization" (van Dijk, 2009a, p.69). Genres are "(…) functionally defined in terms of their social purposes" (Eggins and Martin as cited in van (T. A. van Dijk, 2000b, p.342, *my translation*), for example, news that inform,[95] scientific reports that present research results, movies that entertain, school texts that educate, to mention but a few.[96]

While former DS focused mainly on talk and texts as bounded objects with a strong linguistic orientation, looking mainly at their internal form (e.g. coherence and cohesion), "recent approaches emphasize the functional aspect" (Renkema as cited in Wodak, 2008, p.9). Functions depend on the "objective and effect [of discourse] in a given situation" (Renkema, 2004, p.43). One of the most well-known models of textual functions in Media Studies is Roman Jakobson's, who inspired on the work of German psychologist and linguist Karl Bühler, in particular the Organon model. This is a simple, although limited (Renkema, 2004, p.59), way of describing textual functions according to three main discourse types and their corresponding functions, as shown in Table 4.7 below.

[95] In the double sense of giving information and forming public opinion.

[96] There are hybrid genres, like *infotainment*, so the boundaries are neither fixed nor clear.

Table 4.7. Discourse types and functions according to the Organon model by Karl Bühler.

Discourse type	Function
Information	informative
Expression	narrative
Persuasion	argumentative

Source: Renkema (2004, p.59).

For instance, the migrants' accounts I present in Chapter 8 are expressive types of discourse with a narrative function. By contrast, corporate discourses are "persuasive discourse types" (van Dijk, 1989, p.27) with argumentative functions:

> (...) influencing future actions of recipients (...) based on economic, financial, or, in general, corporate or institutional resources (...) Compliance in this case is manufactured by rhetorical means, for example, by repetition and argumentation, but of course backed up by the usual mechanisms of market control (van Dijk, 1989, p.27).

Since Aristotle, persuasion has been the focus of rhetoric, leading Cheney et al. (2004) to consider "organizational discourse as a rhetorical process". Indeed the CDS project of unveiling ideology and power inequalities within texts can really benefit from the identification of rhetorical functions at work. In the socio-cognitive approach, this is especially looked at when analysing "formal subtle structures" (van Dijk, 2009a, p.72). The persuasive type of corporate discourses varies according to the (sub) genres and target of the communicative event, using different discursive moods: while services advertising usually presents an imperative mood (e.g. "buy", "call", "send" and "top-up"), corporate advertising has a declarative mood.

Next sections describe the process of data collection and selection of the corpus composed by services and corporate advertising, including some theoretical definitions of the sub-genres involved.

4.3.3. Looking everywhere: in search of services advertisement

The data collection process started in 2010 through three channels simultaneously: print, outdoor and online, including videos available in the corporate websites as well as

archived in video-sharing websites YouTube and Vimeo. I collected outdoor advertisements displayed in Spanish urban settings identified as hot spots of immigrant presence, such as metro, bus and train stations, as well as in points of sale, namely *locutorios*. Between 2010 and 2012, I took photographs in Madrid, Granada and Catalonia[97] (mainly Barcelona but also in two other Catalonian municipalities where I conducted part of my fieldwork, Reus and L'Hospitalet[98]). I complemented this corpus with ads taken from ethnic print media[99] issued before 2010, a period in which the arrival of immigrants in Spain was more intense and the general investment in advertising was higher (Sánchez Revilla, 2012). This allowed me to include advertising from companies that were not very present in the outdoor format but were important players in the Spanish market, as stated by market reports (CMT, 2011).

In all, I collected 123 advertising pieces displayed in outdoor and print media between 2007 and 2012. They were discontinuous and not comprehensive, but constituted a good archive of ethnic advertising to start from. In order to systematize the corpus better, every time I contacted the marketing departments of different MP and MT services providers to ask for interviews, I would also request samples of advertisements and campaigns. Although many interviewees were very helpful on this regard, their contributions were scattered in time and did not always coincide with my selection criteria (e.g. the ads targeted wealthy and elderly British people living in Spain).

The data selection process was complex due to the amount of material and the specific needs of the research project, namely, a focus on Lebara and Western Union without ignoring ads signed by other companies that people might see in their daily lives. I finally constructed two different corpora: a main one composed of 17 ads to discuss with my informants (eight from WU, five from Lebara, one Movistar, two Vodafone and one

[97] Although I circumscribed my research to Spain, I also collected data from other European cities I visited by chance, in order to have international references: Hamburg (Germany), Amsterdam (The Netherlands) and Rome (Italy). A colleague brought me brochures from Denmark. I noticed the strong presence of MVNO Lebara and Lycamobile across various European countries, with similar brochures translated in different languages.

[98] I interviewed Moroccan persons in Reus and Ecuadorian ones in L'Hospitalet.

[99] Ethnic media addresses readers of different national origins. I took into account monthly publications of widespread circulation in Spain: magazines "Raíz Ecuador", "Raíz Marruecos" and "ToumaÏ" between 2007 and 2011, and newspapers "Sí, se puede" and "Latino" (2010-2012), ten issues of each one (50 in all).

Orbitel),[100] and a sub-corpus of 16 ads to conduct the socio-semiotic analysis for the particular cases of Lebara and WU, as I present in Chapter 6. The common selection criteria based on Baladrón's (2009) distinction between five levels of complexity, from the least specific message –same for all, no distinction between nationalities, languages, etc.– to the most specialized one–include photographs of models, different languages, names of countries, flags and/or maps– (2009, p.241). For the joint reading of ads, I chose 12 ad pieces from different companies that addressed immigrants generally and others that targeted informants' nationalities specifically–Ecuador and Morocco– through the use of national cues.

4.3.4. Surfing the web: online corporate advertising

My research project echoes Austrian linguist Gerlinde Mautner's (2005) call to consider websites as relevant sources for CDS. Corporations use their official websites as a platform of communication in which different genres "shape and reflect organizational attitudes and behaviours" (Swales & Rogers, 1995, p.225). A first distinction can be made between transactional and non-transactional websites. The former consist of online interfaces in which users can access as customers of the services and operate accordingly: e.g. buy SIM cards, top-up MP credits, pay bills and send money. The non-transactional websites display information but they do not allow buying and ordering. It should not be confused with a dynamic-static dichotomy, since non-transactional websites need to be constantly updated and may change their content in response to the global context in which discourses are embedded. In this sense, corporate websites can be considered more than a text, "an interaction" between the companies and "external forces such as legislation, NGO's and other regulatory bodies" (Coupland, 2005, p.357). Although I agree with this approach, I will not focus my analysis on interactions for practical reasons. Moreover, I will only consider three sub-genres of non-transactional websites –MS, PR and CSR– that proved especially relevant to tracking the companies' strategies of self-representation and their references to migrants. I provide a brief description of each genre below.

[100] Ads by Lebara, Western Union and Orbitel are in Chapter 6, while the ones from Vodafone and Movistar are in Appendix H.

- *Mission statements (MS)*

These texts consist in "a brief description (...) that explains an organization or company's reason for existence (...) what the company hopes to achieve in the future (...) its values and its work ethic (...)" (Doyle, 2011). They work as a declaration of intentions, "as carriers of ideologies and institutional cultures" (Swales and Rogers, 1995, p.225) in which the companies express the core values behind their business aims. They are usually written by chief executive officers (CEO) and addressed to investors as well as to employees. They might have different "motives and purposes (...) [but] perhaps all share the aim of facilitating employee `buy-in' and of fostering identification with the company" (Swales and Rogers, 1995, p.227). After analysing hundreds of samples, Swales and Rogers (1995) outlined some formal and semantic trends in the writing of MS, namely:

> They are general and ambiguous, and do not provide specific information, "the verb forms are predominantly the present, the imperative (...) and the purposive infinitive (...) frequently used nouns are *goals, principles and values*, and the texts draw their color mostly from a variety of adjectives used to characterize activities in a positive light, such as *competent, creative, enthusiastic, leading and profitable*" (1995, p. 227).

The self-presentation is always positive and no negative or conflicting realities are present in these texts, which are rhetorically loaded and highly persuasive.

- *Press releases (PR)*

This genre consists in a brief document or "a short statement that outlines some newsworthy event or activity and that companies send to reporters and editors with the hope of getting press coverage (...) now [they are] also released to online news agencies and newswires" (Doyle, 2011). Press releases are usually seen as opportunities for companies to get "free publicity" (McIntyre, 1992; Yudkin, 2003) by positioning their brand names in mass media in a different format than traditional advertising. In recent years, a hybrid genre known as "infomercial", which presents advertising in a news report format, has also become very popular. Although PR direct aim is to provide information, most of the time it indirectly sells some service or product.

- *Corporate social responsibility (CSR) statements*

CSR is "a way of framing business and society relations" (Matten, Crane, & Chapple, 2003, p.109) which highlights the embeddings of business organizations within society. It follows that they should engage in activities that contribute to the general wellbeing, from boosting the economy and promoting fair working conditions to their employees, to taking care of the environment and supporting charitable initiatives. The concept as such dates back to the 50s in the US, proliferated in the 70s and diversified in the 90s (Carroll, 1999). Now it has been re-named as "Corporate Citizenship" (CC) in order to neutralize the implications of the word "responsibility" that should be understood as something intrinsic to the business world instead of something added afterwards (Matten et al., 2003, p.111). There are variations across companies in the way they develop their CSR statements, for instance, they can be more or less descriptive −referring to what business actually *do*− or prescriptive −referring to what business *should do*− (Cantó-Milà & Lozano, 2009, p.169, *emphasis added*). Despite differences, they share the aim of providing "well-crafted corporate images" (Coupland, 2005, p.357), which usually materialize in charitable foundations funded by the company. Apart from obtaining tax exemptions, these entities are useful to generate empathy with the broad public through "cause-related marketing" and "non-profit marketing" (Doyle, 2011). These marketing strategies do not aim at immediate "profit, market share, and return on investment" but to "associate a brand with a worthy cause" (Doyle, 2011) in order to build a positive public image.

The group of online official documents that will be analyzed in the next chapter consists of 18 written texts, nine for each company under study, Lebara and Western Union, with the following distribution of sub-genres:

Table 4.8. Corpus of texts for CDA, according to its sub-genre and company-enunciator.

Sub-genre	**Company**	
	Lebara	WU
Press Release	6	2
Mission Statement	1	2
CSR	2	5

The sampling of online official documents consisted in a selection of the texts publicly available on each company's non-transactional website, which are all in the English language. I also looked for other documents outside the corporate websites in order to get texts with focus in Spain. In May 2012, I did a simple search in the Google search engine with the names of the companies and Spain as key words, both in English and in Spanish. I did not find any relevant documents signed by WU but I did find two Lebara infomercials in two different websites: one dedicated to ICT news (www.noticiasdot.com) and another one from a monthly magazine for immigrants in Spain (www.toumai.es).

Western Union (WU)

In the case of WU, the corpus covered three sections of their official website:

a) "About Us" (plus three items within it: "Our values", "History" and "Services"),

b) "Corporate Citizenship" (with information on the WU Foundation activities and philosophy),

c) "News", where they store all the Press Releases.

Figure 4.3 below shows the location of the analyzed documents circled in red in the navigation menu of the corporate website.

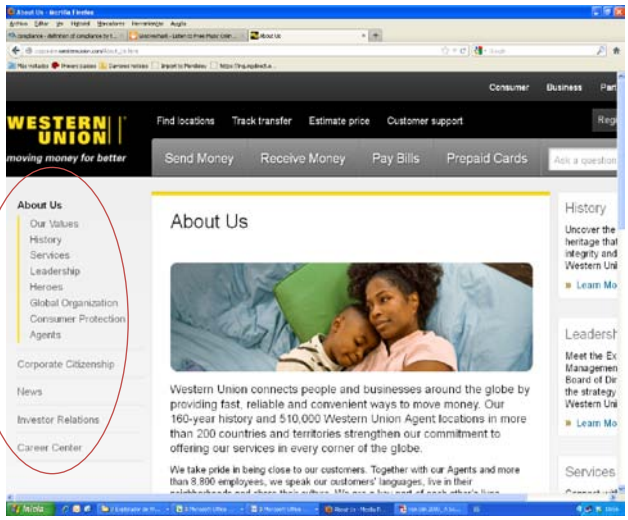


Figure 4.4. Web screenshot of the navigation menu in the WU corporate homepage Source: retrieved from www.westernunion.com on 20/10/2012.

In the "News" section, the category "Press releases" contained 419 hundreds of documents stored between 2008 and July 2011, including annual reports, announcements of new partnerships, new appointments in the board of directors, as well as charity activities like donations. In order to reduce the size of the corpus, I typed the keyword "immigrants" in the website search engine and obtained 21 results out of 419. When I typed the keyword "immigrant" in singular, only six results appeared. From these searches, I purposively chose those related to mobile phones, family and development. Press releases were also accessible through the section "Investor Relations", a title that indicates the addressees of these texts.

Lebara

The Lebara texts I selected for the analysis were located under the titles "About Lebara" and "Media Centre", as shown in the figure below.

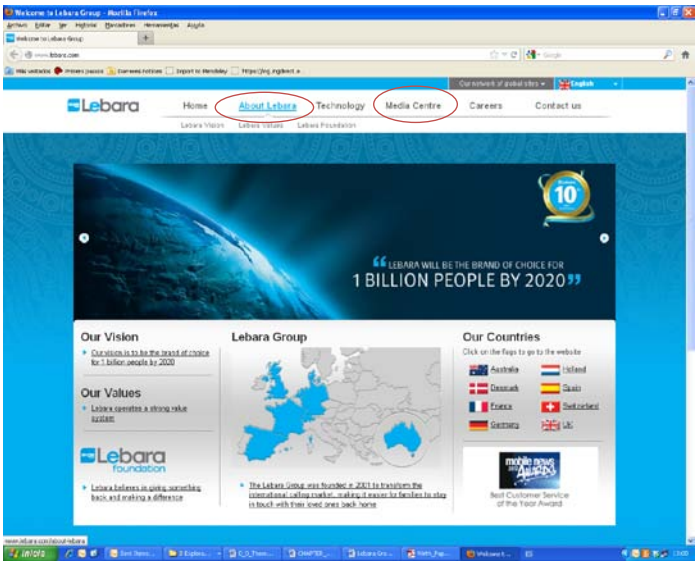


Figure 4.5. Web screenshot of the navigation menu in the Lebara website. Source: retrieved from www.lebara.com on 20/10/2012.

"About Lebara" included the company's vision, values and activities from their charity foundation. Unlike WU, Lebara does not use the phrases "corporate citizenship" or "corporate social responsibility", but it does have references to these concepts in which companies assume a commitment to improve the socio-economic contexts in which they

operate. These actions were taken by the Lebara Foundation. The three genres of online corporate discourses −PR, MS and CSRS− were in English and referred to the eight countries in which Lebara operates. They followed a similar layout (predominance of written text) and target (employees, stakeholders, investors) and I will analyze them in the next chapter.

4.4. Concluding Remarks

The complexity of discourses on migrant connectivity elaborated by diverse actors in differing formats and genres, demanded an equally complex research design, involving multiple methods of data collection and analysis. In this chapter, I argued that the combination of Cultural Studies (CS) and Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) offers a set of useful conceptual and analytical tools to understand the articulations and disjunctures of both corporate and migrant discourses. In particular, I highlighted the commitment these fields of knowledge have with interdisciplinary, critical and multiperspectival research. Moreover, their combination supports a basic premise of the linguistic and cultural turns experienced in the humanities and the social sciences in the 20th century: discourses do not merely reflect the world, but constitute structuring devices of reality such that analyzes need to attend both textual and extra-textual (contextual) dimensions. I have assumed this challenge in my own approach to migrant connectivity by taking into account three intertwined areas: textual analysis, political economy, and audience reception, as proposed by Kellner (2003).

Political economy involves the power structures of social, political and economic environments in which texts are created, circulated and contested. In the case of migrant connectivity, it requires paying particular attention to the role played by mobile phone (MP) and money transfer (MT) service providers. Audience reception refers to migrants' user experiences and their hegemonic, negotiated or oppositional attitude (Hall, 1974) towards purposively selected commercial messages of MP and MT. Textual analysis includes a focus on both visual (ads) and written texts (online) signed by two important companies −Lebara and Western Union. This multimodal challenge echoes various arguments on how the social sciences would highly benefit from the use of visual data and methodologies in their analysis.

In this Chapter I explained how I draw on the CS focus on popular culture to visually analyze so-called ethnic advertising (Baladrón, 2009) as a social discourse which represents migrants in quite different ways than other publicly visible discourses like news reports and parliamentary debates. Each of them constitutes, in Foucauldian terms, orders of discourse or sites of power struggles for meaning, which construction within a particular historical context ensures their changing and contested status. Our understanding of migration can be enriched by looking at the aspects of being a migrant that are emphasized and those that are silenced in the discourses elaborated by specific actors, such as corporations that have a central role in the dynamics of communication across borders and the discursive regimes of migrant connectivity.

I argued why I rely on the CDS perspective for the analysis of online written texts taken from corporation websites, as well as how I got inspired by the socio-cognitive approach, which emphasizes the role of mental processes in mediating discursive interaction and society. In this model, individuals´ subjectivities acquire a special explanatory power in the analysis of discourses, not in isolation but always in relation to shared meanings as part of social groups. Thus it proves helpful to the identification of underlying ideologies at work in corporate discourses and the mental models they promote on migration.

5.Commodification of Migrant Connectivity I: the corporate writing

Increasingly, however, it is major corporations that are taking the leading role as our pedagogues, our story-tellers and, to borrow a felicitous neologism from the Walt Disney Company, our "imagineers". Rouse (1997, p.10)

This chapter develops the critical discourse analysis (CDS) of online corporate texts authored by two paradigmatic companies of each of the services under study: Lebara for mobile communication and Western Union for money transfers. The research questions that guided the analysis are both descriptive –*How do MP and MT corporate discourses represent migrants across the lines of gender, age, ethnicity, class and nationality?*– and explanatory –*Do MP and MT corporations provide a new imagery on migration in the context of hegemonic discourses produced by national/regional political regimes?* . The former corresponds to the analysis of the communicative event, which is textually oriented but also considers how texts are embedded in specific contexts marked by ongoing social processes and ideologies. The latter question corresponds to the second research field of CDS concerned with the "social order of discourse" (Martin Rojo, 2006, p.170), inspired in Foucauldian approaches, as detailed in the previous chapter.

The interpersonal function of language was very similar in all the analyzed texts: they had a declarative mood (in contrast to interrogative, imperative and performative moods) and low modality[101] (scarce use of modal auxiliary verbs like must, might, can and will). For this reason, I focused on the ideational and textual functions: the former consisted in identifying the participants and the processes at stake, drawing on van Leeuwen's social actor theory; the latter included looking at the semantic and lexical structures.

In a first descriptive stage, I drew on the template presented in Chapter 4, which listed the main conceptual elements to take into account: global themes, local meanings and `subtle´ formal structures, in accordance with van Dijk´s approach. Although I focus on local text analysis to identify how companies represent immigrants in their texts, I also

[101] Modality has at least two different meanings: it can refer to the truth value of a clause, as in this case, or it can mean the presence of different signs (images, words, film, etc.) which combination is called "multimodality" (Kress, 2010).

consider presuppositions and implications in order to make visible some intriguing argumentative strategies at work.

In a second stage of analysis, I considered how the semantic and textual elements organized to convey more complex messages through elaborated argumentative and rhetorical figures of a happy small world, where people move smoothly and corporate powers make their lives easier. CDA offers useful conceptual and methodological tools to dismantle the ideological assumptions underlying these discourses, in particular, how the corporate voice talks about (a) migrants (their contexts, belongings and practices of connectivity); (b) the self-representation of the company and (c) the company´s attitude towards migration, namely, its pro-migrant positioning.

5.1. Lebara: Providing Connectivity to "Ethnic Segments"

The corpus included nine texts taken from the official website www.lebara.com: six PRs (including two infomercials), one MSs and two CSRs. I present them below in chronological order, named with the initial brand letter "L", a hyphen and its corresponding number[102], e.g. L-1.

Text L-1: "Lebara Mobile partners with Vodafone to launch low cost, high quality mobile services in Spain"

In this text, the macro-proposition or global theme is the arrival of Lebara Mobile to the Spanish market and the advantages of its services. It is divided in six sections: the introductory paragraph plus five subsections under the following titles: "High quality network connections" (13[103]), "Services available to all" (22), "Easy to use SIM Cards" (37) and "About Lebara Mobile" (55).

From a semantic and local analytic perspective, the repetition of key words throughout the text reinforces the global theme and works as lexical cohesive. The arrival of the company in Spain is stressed by the redundant phrase "innovative new" (8) and "innovative" (57) as well as the extensive use of the adjective "new" (14, 18, 40). The use of

[102] I named the original documents following the same criteria and attached them in Appendix I.

[103] The numbers between brackets correspond to the line number of the analyzed text where the quotation appears.

positive adverbs - like “simply” (38) and “widely” (43) – and adjectives serves to emphasize the advantages of the company: “successful (9), “convenient and straightforward” (40), “unrivalled” (49) and compound adjectives like “easy-to-use” (10, 38), “low cost” (10, 45), “high-quality” (11,13), “designed to appeal” (27), “tailored to their needs” (61). These two last ones legitimise the company’s knowledge of their target. There are also superlatives which constitute hyperbolic strategies to position the company better in comparison with competitors: “highest” (17, 23[104]), “the most reliable” (17) and “the best” (47).

The text highlights simplicity as a core value, both explicitly and implicitly. The phrase “services available to all” (22) also echoes rhetorical strategies present in human rights declarations – including universal access to basic resources - and multiculturalism as an inclusive paradigm for a wide range of cultures and nationalities. Moreover, it presupposes that, before Labara’s arrival, some people could not access to some services.

Lines 40 and 41 present the advantages of the company through the repetitive use of negative forms: “*no* requirement to buy a new handset; *no* monthly fees to pay; *no* contracts to sign, and *no* codes to key-in before calling” (*emphasis added*). This list presupposes that competing service providers do have those requirements, but that Lebara users are freed from such contractual obligations towards the company. It also portrays a target user who might have some economic constraints or instability, not being able to afford regular expenses.

At the ideational or representational level of analysis, the participants of the text are the company Lebara, its business partner Vodafone, the country where they operate, Spain, and the target public of the services. They are all involved in various processes according to different role allocations. In general, the company is actively represented in material processes - *doing* something, e.g. “has joined forces” (7). In some cases, there are existential processes in which the actor *is* something, e.g. “is also multi-lingual” (30). The mental process “we *understand* different cultures and ethnic groups” (33, *emphasis added*)

[104] Note that this superlative describes two different nouns: call quality and number of immigrants. In any case, it is presented as advantageous for both customers and the operator.

presents the company as both professional and empathic with diversity issues. Sometimes it appears as passive, in a textual strategy that emphasizes the object of the action instead of the action and its agents: “Lebara Mobile services are designed” (26), “Lebara Mobile website is maintained” (27-28).

The companies - Lebara and Vodafone - are always nominated, which represents actors “in terms of their unique identity (...) typically realised by proper nouns” (van Leeuwen, 1996, pp. 52-53). Thus the company is individualised, and when a spokesperson is quoted in the text, it is also humanised: “Lebara Spain Managing Director, Marcel Timmerhuis” (32). Apart from nominated, he is functionalised (director) and involved in a verbal process through direct speech, a fact that legitimises his important position as speaker (otherwise he would not have been quoted). His quotation has various shifts in the pragmatic identity of the pronouns he uses: changing from the third-person singular to the first-person plural, “we”. Moreover, his last sentence interpellates customers directly by saying “your mobile phone” (35), through the use of the possessive pronoun of the second-person “your”. I interpret these changes as an effort to sound close and familiar with the real audience of the text, which is not the media that will reproduce the PR but the potential customers of Lebara.

Spain, is mostly nominated except in the first paragraph where it is referred to as “the Spanish market” (8) so that the noun is adjectivized to describe not a country, a society or nation state, but a location for commodity placement and profit, for the exchange of goods and services: the market. In line 23 it becomes a country: “Spain has amongst the highest number of immigrants in Europe”. The verb “has” situates Spain as a receptacle, as containing immigrants rather than being composed of diverse populations.

The target public is referred to differently throughout the text, activating diverse processes of representation. The first reference is “Spanish consumers” (11), that repeats in other parts of the document (38, 47, 51). “Immigrants” (23, 24) echoes the vocabulary used by other orders of discourse, namely mass media, political and governmental bodies, and work as genericisation, “realised by the plural without article” (van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 47). This text presents various kinds of assimilation mechanisms theorised by van Leeuwen

(1996): aggregation, marked by a definite quantifier (1996, p.49) in the expression "around 9% of the population" (24); aggregated indetermination (1996, p.52) in "many of whom" (25), and the homogenising collectivisation in the expression "immigrant groups" (25). Persons of very diverse ethnic origins are lumped through association (van Leeuwen, 1996, p.51) in accordance to nationality: "The main immigrant groups in Spain are Latinos, Moroccans and Romanians" (25). This contributes to represent social actors in an impersonal and abstract way (van Leeuwen, 1996, p.59), like in the phrase "ethnic segments" (33) that reflects the jargon of marketing research.

Migrants are also functionalised or represented "in terms of an activity" (van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 54). In the context of a business environment, this relates to buying and/or selling: they are called "customers" (11, 31, 38, 49, 59) and "our customers" (61). The use of the possessive pronoun "our" implies a relational identification through possessivation, which tends to passivize social actors either by being (negatively) *subjected* or (positively) *beneficialized* (van Leeuwen, 1996, pp. 44-45) by a third party.

In this text, national boundaries seem to be malleable in the hands of the company, when it refers to the country as a market and to migrants as "Spanish customers" (11, 38, and 47). People are described in terms of their present location and not only of their national origin. This implies that in the language of the market, immigrants are not foreigners but Spanish citizens who match business interests and national regulation frameworks. In order to operate, corporations must adapt their multinational business models to national legislations, including their commercial target, so people who live in Spain - no matter their place of birth, legal status or nationality - automatically become Spanish. The apparently inclusive discourse of the market contrasts with the mechanisms of exclusion activated by the numerous difficulties many migrants face to acquire legal rights and to be culturally accepted in destination societies.

In terms of role allocation, migrants are mostly portrayed as passive actors, beneficiaries of the company's material actions. There are some exceptions, in which they are represented as active participants, for instance in "have strong ties to their home countries" (26) and "no matter which language customers prefer to use" (31). These

expressions acknowledge, although timidly, migrants' transnational belongings and multilingualism.

Regarding the company´s attitude towards migrants and migration, this text is full of expressions that imply a pro-migrant positioning, "help customers save money" (59), "can advise them" (31), "we understand different cultures and ethnic groups" (33), "aim to help bring families, friends and colleagues closer together" (46). This last expression presupposes various facts: first, that there are distances that separate people who need each other; secondly, that fluent and immediate communication can provide a sense of closeness between distant people; and thirdly, that people can live in multiple locations. Moreover, there are numerous references to what the company considers migrants' connectivity needs: "low cost, high quality" (4-5, 17, 34-35), "appeal to a wide range of cultures and nationalities" (27), and multilanguage services (31). In this context, pricing and value outstand as relevant topics in expressions like "low cost" (10-11, 51, 59), "best value" (48), "unrivalled value" (49-50), "short duration calls" (50), "now, can afford" (51) and more explicitly, the prices of the "prepaid top-up vouchers (...) widely available in 5 €, 10 €, and 20 € denominations" (43-44). This constitutes a self-legitimising strategy for the company that presents a weak actor – poor migrants – who needs its help and assistance. As we will see in other texts, the millionaire business of intermediaries of migrant connectivity is purposively omitted by corporate enunciators that seem to act moved by a weird mixture of compassion and empathy for their target.

Text L-2: "Lebara Móvil sold 122.000 cards during its first year and hopes to distribute 39,3% more in 2008"[105]

This text presents a condensed activity balance of the company one year after it started to operate in Spain. The global theme is the updated economic situation of Lebara in this country and its future business plans, what suggests it is not addresses to users but to stakeholders and commercial partners.

[105] *NT*: In the original, "Lebara Móvil vendió 122.000 tarjetas en su primer año y espera distribuir un 39,3% más en 2008"

It is authored by a news website, Noticiasdot, so at first sight it may seem a news report. It has an informative style with no use of adjectives and adverbs, and an extensive use of quantitative data that serves to illustrate the performance of the company and to convey objectivity. There is information on current sales volumes and previsions, users' profile (top-up average expenditure, destiny of calls, main spots originating traffic of international calls) and the evolution of the business model (initial model, changes, and special offers). However, the text limits itself to report the company's "press conference" (8) in a biased way that conforms to the company's interests: it is an infomercial, a hybrid genre composed of information and advertising.

A lexical analysis evidences that some actors are nominated – Lebara, its business partner Vodafone (19) and the Spanish Commission of the Telecommunication Market (CMT) - and other actors are genericised as "customers" (13, 23, 34, 37 and 44) or "the immigrant segment" (5-6), a marketing expression to refer to foreign customers. The word "customers" constitutes a functionalization that reduces actors to a commercial equation composed of buyers and sellers. There are also cases of relational identification through the use of the possessive pronouns in expressions such as "their customers" (13, 23 and 37) and "Lebara customers" (44). Thus migrants are passivized as beneficiaries of what the company "offers" (23) and the object of market research (33-34). Moreover, they are also passivized when their actions appear doubly mediated, first by a corporate spokesperson and secondly by the author of the infomercial (Noticiasdot.com). In lines 13 and 14 we read: "The director pointed out that their customers' average monthly top-up is 15 euros". In this sentence the main nouns are "the director" in the main clause, and the top-up in the subordinate clause. An alternative way of phrasing it would have been "according to the director, on average customers top-up 15 euros per month", in which "customers" would become the active agents.

The company, however, is usually the active agent of several material processes through the use of verbs such as "sold" (6), "earned" (11), "landed" (18) or "will offer" (35). From a rhetorical perspective, an enterprise landing in a new country (and market) constitutes a metaphor of success with reminiscences of the colonial endeavours arriving in

virgin lands (or unexplored markets) to conquer and control. Apart from the name of the company, this text includes explicit references to two spokespersons who are presented with their names (nominated) and positions (functionalised): “general director” (7-8), “responsible for the Spanish subsidiary” (24) and “sales manager” (31). They are “sayers” involved in verbal processes conveyed through verbs such as “announced” (7, 32), “pointed out” (9) and “explained” (43). They embody the human face of the company and the people in charge with the expertise to lead it towards success. CMT appears in this text (11) as the Spanish institutional actor that legitimizes the revenues of the company.

This text provides rich information on the business model of the company and their target’s profile. Readers get to know that “the average top-up of Lebara customers is 15 euros and the main destinations of their calls are Colombia, Ecuador, Morocco and Rumania” (13-14). While the spokesperson I interviewed told me this was confidential information, it was made public online - presumably for investors and business partners – in order to highlight the commercial potential of this target. Another interesting piece of information in the text is the “estimations” about the origin of international calls: 65% from *locutorios*, 25% from prepaid cards and 10% from the MP (15-17). Estimations are partial but highly appreciated knowledges to anticipate events, including in the business world. The text presupposes an important niche for the business of prepaid cards with high growth potential if it manages to replace *locutorios* as the favourite option.

On the one hand, low-cost communication is defined as a priority of the company, which future actions are oriented to ensure this, as shown in the last section (lines 35 to 45). This is conveyed through the use of the modal auxiliary verb “will” which high modality (degree of truth value) contrasts with the low modality of previous sections. On the other hand, it is subjected to a strict politics of pricing that defines various levels of billing and stimulates special times of the day to use the services, what might not be necessarily adapted to people’s needs but to low voice (phone call) traffic or commercial agreements with the telephony companies that end the calls in origin countries.

Text L-3: "the Lebara Mobile telephony company will offer a raffle of 60 travels to the customer's country of origin".

Unlike previous texts and other ones that address company employees, investors and stakeholders, this one is especially addressed to migrants and invites them to participate in a raffle. It was published in the ethnic magazine "Toumaï" as an infomercial. In this case, it is in an interview format in which the director of Lebara answers three brief and complacent questions that help him to convey his commercial message.

There are various deictic expressions of time – the date line (7) - and persons - the director of Lebara in Spain, Óscar Vergés (3, 12), and the reporter of Toumaï magazine, Oscar Rodríguez (7) -. While they individualised and nominated, migrants are referred to in a general way as "interested people" (9), "the person/s" (16, 25, 30), "our customers" (18), "the customer" (6, 23), "our users" (27), and "those who use our service" (29). These references are done by the interviewee, and the word "Immigrants" (14) is used once by the reporter. There are various degrees of functionalization, from "director" to "users" and "customers", convey the realisation of particular activities (directing, using and buying respectively). These categorisations highlight the commercial ties between the company and the people. When the possessive pronoun "our" is used, actors are possesivated and partly deprived from full agency. In the case of the singular nouns preceded by definite articles ("the customer" and "the person") there is genericisation. Moreover, migrants are discursively represented through assimilation and collectivisation, as part of an anonymous and homogeneous group.

The semantic macro structure in the headline of the text announces the raffle and the lead explains briefly the conditions of participation. This paragraph has high modality through the use of a modal auxiliary verb conveying duty: "In order to participate, interested people *must* register in www.lebaratellevaacasa.com and make the highest possible number of international calls (…)" (9-11, *emphasis added*). This condition of participation in the raffle implies an attitude of calling for the sake of calling, without any particular purpose but just keeping in touch. It echoes the hegemonic ideology in MP use in terms of full availability, anytime anywhere, translated in the title of academic journals and books such as "perpetual contact" (Katz & Aakhus, 2002) and "connected presence" (Licoppe, 2004).

The interview starts with a "question" that, however, is a hidden statement made by the magazine in order to help the interviewee: "Despite the crisis, the company continues to support the immigrant market" (13-14). The use of the preposition "despite" contrast two clauses, activating the implication that in crisis times the immigrant market should be abandoned. The reference to the crisis serves the director of Lebara as springboard to answer about the importance of "cheap calls" (16) and the prioritization of family relationships in every moment, including difficult times. While there are no references to metaphors of closeness, as in other analyzed texts, the phrasal verb "keep in touch" (16, 18) appears twice, once referred to "their family" (16) and another time referred to "their beloved ones" (18).[106]

The answers emphasize the company's role to look after customers in a quite paternalistic way, weakening migrants as a strategy that serves to legitimise its *raison d'être*. The expression "we are committed to" (22)[107] implies they assume risks for the sake of migrants´ wellbeing. The company is the active agent in most cases and migrants are reduced to passive objects of its material processes, as in this example: "[it] *allows* people to keep in touch with their family abroad" (16-17, *emphasis added*). In one case, however, migrants are represented as active, well informed economic actors: "The customer knows how much the call will cost him/her" (23). In this portrait of a well-informed customer who can control her expenses and decisions, I envisage neoliberal ideologies according to which free and conscious economic agents compete to get the best deal in a self-regulated society and market.

Apart from being cheap, Lebara calls are presented as "transparent and simple" (22). The director emphasizes that Lebara is different from the competitors because it provides prices with VAT included. The use of opposite adjectives "simple" and "complicated" (23) serves to emphasize the polarisation between "Us-Lebara" and "Them-Competitors". Unlike other analyzed texts, this one focuses only on price convenience and

[106] *NT*: In the original, "los suyos".

[107] In the original, "apostamos".

fairness, and does not mention quality issues. This might reflect the main concern users have regarding international calls, from the perspective of the company.

The last answer in this fake interview starts with a mental process emphasized by an adverb of frequency, "We are *always thinking* what else we can do for our users" (27, emphasis added). It reintroduces the issue announced in the headline, the raffle, and ends up with a statement that reminds of human rights talk and engages with equity and universal access: "(…) those who use our service, no matter the persons' nationality" (29-30).

Text L-4: "The National Communication Commission certifies Lebara Mobile as one of the main mobile operators"[108]

Above the headline, the phrase "press release" (2) situates readers in the particular context model of this communicative event. This is complemented by the dateline (7) with deictic expressions of the time and place where the text was produced. The text reports that the company has been ranked among "the main five mobile operators in Spain by market share" (9-10). The ranking is elaborated by the Spanish Telecommunication Market Commission (CMT) that is the maximum legal institution in charge of regulating telecom operators. The text emphasizes the neutral and official degree of this recognition through words like "certifies" (3) and "resolution" (5). Apart from CMT and Lebara, the other actors mentioned in the text are migrants and telecom companies.

The first section of the text informs about the certification of Lebara in the CMT ranking (lines 3 to 13) and presents the company in the third-person singular. The expression "dedicated to the immigrant public" (7-8) defines the target in a less formal way than in text L 2 ("specialized in the immigrant segment") in which the informative style predominated. The substitution of "specialized" by "dedicated", and "segment" by "public" shifts the tone of the text from hard objectivity towards a warmer, more engaged style. This

[108] *NT*: In the original, "La Comisión Nacional de las Comunicaciones certifica a Lebara Móvil entre los principales operadores móviles".

becomes present in the second section of L4, in the words of the General Director of the company in Spain who is functionalised, individualised and nominated. His speech is marked by emotions (lines 15-19), conveyed through commonplace expressions of business mental models, such as “vocational service” (15), “stable partner” (17-18), “enduring and trustful relationships” (17) and “the Lebara family” (19). The metaphor of the company as a family is widespread in the corporate world and has been analyzed as a disciplining tool towards employees (Casey, 1999).

Migrants are represented in generic ways: “immigrant public” (7-8, 27, 29) is a way of assimilation through collectivisation, using the mass noun “public”; “the foreign people” (15) is identification through a classification based on place of birth; “our (17)/ their (20)/ the (23)/ customers”, work as functionalization and possessivation when accompanied by a possessive pronoun; finally, “families, friends and workmates” (34) constitute relational identifications. There are references to migrants' “needs” (21, 23) as something the company knows and adapts to: “cheap and high quality international phone calls directly from the mobile phone, in a comfortable and easy way” (22-23). This presupposes users with low incomes who call abroad, leaving aside their local communication needs and potential higher budgets.

The last two sections of the text, “About Lebara” and “About the Lebara Group”, present two short narratives of the history of the company. The former locates it in Spain since 2007, highlighting its focus on “the segment of immigrant public” (29) through the provision of prepaid cards and low cost international phone calls. There is a curious reference to “our country” in a text that has been entirely written in the third-person singular. These shifts occur in other analyzed documents and have a strategic purpose: to “show with which groups the speaker identifies himself (...) [as] part of the models and social representations of speakers as group members” (van Dijk, 2002, p.226). Next section analyzes the history of the Lebara Group.

Text L-5: “Welcome to the Lebara Group”

In this document I merged short texts located in two different links in the company´s website: “About Us” and “Our Brand Values”, which taken together can be

considered the mission statement because it presents the broader commercial framework in which Lebara Mobile operates, the Lebara Group. Readers are "welcomed" in the headline and the text starts with a succession of positively loaded vocabulary: "tailored" (2), "innovative" (2) and "solutions" (what implies there might be a problem to solve). Its services aim to cover all spheres of a person's social life, presented through relational identification: "families, friends and colleagues" (3). It presupposes the common experience of mobility, since it refers to the need of "keep[ing] in touch, both at home & abroad" (3-4).

From lines 5 to 20 there are references to the various awards that legitimize the company's performance in the British telecommunication market and elsewhere. These recognitions help to build a strong brand name, addressed to stakeholders that might be interested in investing in the Lebara Group.

The company is mainly represented in an individualized, specific and nominated way and, except from the references to the awards, it mostly appears in an active role involved in material processes, as illustrated by the verb forms: "continues to go" (5), "launched" (21), "provides" (24), "give" (26), "works" (35), and "places" (40). In the middle of the text, the third-person singular shifts to the first-person plural, with the use of the personal pronoun "we" (21, 25). This "we" might be the institutional voice of the Lebara Group praising Lebara Mobile, and constitutes an argumentative strategy to convey a sense of closeness and trust with potential readers.

Migrants are represented always in generic and assimilated ways but imbued with different categorisations and functionalizations. Apart from the first reference based on relational identifications – "families, friends and colleagues" (3) - they are aggregated ("2.5 million", line 22), functionalised ("customers", line 22) and possesivated ("our customers", line 26). After the company highlights being pioneer in "low-cost" (21) services, the next sentence makes explicit its orientation towards a specific profile of mobile people – migrants - and their socio-economic background – "migrant workers" (25) - what implies low-income users.

The words "tailored" (2) and "customised" (24) underline the personalised character of their services, which fits "the needs of international communities" (22-23). This

expression echoes what Nancy Fraser defined as “needs-talk” (1989, p.291) in the context of welfare public policies, as a top-down discourse that defines and institutionalizes what people need in various spheres of life, generating conflict and contestation from below when their needs do not necessarily match the ones defined by institutional powers. In the text, it follows a list of migrants´ telecommunication needs that Lebara defines and promises to cover. Instead of expressing it through an assertion (e.g. “Lebara Mobile services always give”), the sentence starts with a mental process: “We believe that…” (25). On the one hand, this expression seems to weaken the company´s performance, since beliefs are not always matched by real facts. On the other hand, it can be read as part of “credo-like incantations” (Swales and Rogers, 1995, p.234), a strong commitment to actually achieving it. The frequency adverb “always” helps to strengthen the promise and it appears various times later in the text (35, 48, and 53). The list of needs consists of eight topics related to the costs, quality and interface of mobile communication. The first ones are written in the positive form: “Very low rates, instant connections, high quality networks, multilingual customer services, reliable service” (27-31). The three last ones are written in the negative form, implicitly contrasting what Lebara offers with competitor companies that might require “access codes” (32), might have “hidden charges” (33) and “lost minutes” (35). This is part of an argumentative strategy of positive self-presentation and negative implications of competitors.

As a multinational corporation, Lebara needs different partners to operate in various countries, which are not nominated but acknowledged as the “best of breed” (35). This one and other expressions are highlighted in bold letters in order to catch readers’ attention and convey various meanings: “founded in 2001” (2) implies it is a relatively new enterprise but coherent with the timeline of the mobile services market development; “2.5 million customers” (22) presupposes a solid base to operate and invest; “Mobile SIM card” (25) is the product; “engaging directly with customers” (38) reflects marketing oriented fieldwork; “wide range of languages” (41-42) is another expression for the “multilingual” (30) adjective presented in the list of needs and refers again to the provision of personalised services.

After presenting its intrinsic benefits and praise its partners, the text offers a brief account of practices related to their customers, not so much to get to know their needs but to build the brands´ name, also called "branding": "a process by which manufacturers and retailers help customers to differentiate between various offerings in a market" (Baines, Fill & Page, 2011 [2008], p.312). These commercial strategies consist of "street sales & marketing campaigns, promotional events, PR & targeted advertising" (38-39).

In the last section, "Our brand Values" (43), the text shifts from third-person singular to first-person plural to refer to the company as involved in a mental process: "we *understand* our services mean more to our customers than just making calls" (44, *emphasis added*). This presupposes at least two things: firstly, a sense of complicity between the company and its customers – they both know something other people might not -. Secondly, it suggests a non-instrumental side of communication in which the action of calling acquires deeper meanings. Next sentence continues the idea: "We know just how important it is for our customers to stay in touch & that's why we stick to these brand values in everything we do" (45-46). In accordance with the list of needs aforementioned, brand values also refer to the costs, quality and interface of mobile communication, using bold letters to highlight keywords: verbs that convey commitment, such as "ensure" (48) and "make sure" (51); the superlative "great" (48); the adjectives "easy-to-use" (49) and "empathetic" (52). Needs-talk is present again in line 52 with reference to "diverse communities", a way of representing migrant customers as a homogeneous and bounded group in what van Leeuwen (1996) called assimilation and collectivisation.

In terms of role allocation, sometimes migrants appear as the passive object of the company's action, like when it "gives" something to them (26, 47, and 50). I only identified one example in which migrant customers are represented in the active form of the verb: "[they] can keep in touch" (3-4). Most of the time, phrasing privileges Lebara services as the main actor of material processes and migrants as the object, e.g. "our services mean more to our customers" (44). There are also a couple of expressions in which the company´s actions are at the same level of customers', as in "engaging directly with" (37-38) and "communicating with" (40).

Text L-6: "The Lebara Foundation"

The text evokes the company's commitment to social change, conveyed through a mental process of hope: "Lebara believes" (3), and expressions such as "give something back" (3), the repetition of phrases like "make a difference" (4, 8), "sustainable impact" (11), "lasting change" (14); and verbs like "contributes" (6), "is committed to" (7) and "aspire" (13).

In the first section, the company changes from the third-person singular (3) to the first-person plural (6), as if the Foundation has taken a voice of its own: "We are the non-profit, philanthropic arm of the Lebrara group" (6). Unlike the company, the foundation emphasizes its altruistic function in a subtle mechanism of positive self-presentation. Its aim is to "fight against child poverty" (13). Following the assistance style of much `philanthropic foundation-talk´, the addressees of support, in this case poor children, are represented as weak and passive, objects of the verbs "provide" (5), "deliver" (8), "have (…) impact" (11), "assisting" (12) and "placing" (18). Adjectives that denote weakness are "displaced" (5), "vulnerable" (8) and "in need" (17). Children's welfare is equated and extended to that of the "communities" (14), a mass noun that constitutes a way of assimilation and refers to the broader context in which children live. The reference to the "UN Child Rights Convention and Millennium Development Goals" (15) legitimises the Foundation's activities at the international level.

Text L-7: "Make free phone calls to any country with the Lebara Mobile Tour"

The phrase "press release" (2) above the headline, situates readers in the particular context model of this communicative event. This is complemented by the dateline (12) with deictic expressions of the time and place, where the text was produced and the tour started. The lead (4-11) provides the semantic macro structure and, together with the headline, it provides the global topic: the launch of a promotional activity by Lebara in Spain. The attractive promise in the headline - "Make free phone calls to any country with the Lebara Mobile Tour" (3) – interpellates migrant customers through the use of the imperative verb form. However, they are indirect objects of a text which direct target is "the media" (14).

The subhead does not explain *what* the tour is about, but *why* it has been organized: it is a response to "the crisis" (4), a word that implies economic difficulties and other negative effects. The company, always referred to in the third-person singular, presents itself involved in a mental process (be aware) that helps to build the image of a sensitive and supportive allied of migrant people: "Lebara Mobile, aware that the crisis is affecting the immigrant community in a more virulent way, is launching this initiative to offer free calls to their home country to anyone who wishes so" (4-6). The comparative adjective "more" presupposes that migrants are poorer and weaker than natives, a strategy that serves the company to legitimise its migrant oriented services.

The lead continues with brief information of the tour and the company, outlined in three bullet points which summarize what will be developed in the rest of the document. Then the company defines itself as a "virtual mobile operator oriented to offering high-quality, easy-to-use and very competitive mobile telephony services to the immigrant community in our country" (12-14). This way, it highlights its specialisation in this market niche, adapting the discourse to the Spanish context through the deictic expression "our country". This possessivation implies a substantive shift in the way the company represents itself in the text, changing from the third-person singular (it) to the first-person plural (we) which locates it closer to readers.

Like in other documents analyzed before, the company is always specified and nominated, while their commercial target is referred to with mass nouns that homogenises and generalises them. Unlike other documents, this one uses the word "immigrant" very often, in order to make clear what the company's commercial target is. Some examples are "the immigrant community" (5, 14), "the immigrant public" (41-42). There is also a reference to "immigrants from the numerous nationalities that coexist in this cosmopolitan area of the capital city" (30-32). This phrase acknowledges – though in a simple way - the various origins of "immigrants" and it uses positive vocabulary to describe such diversity, e.g. "cosmopolitan", "coexist" and "multicultural" (30). Another reference expands beyond the category of "immigrant", and includes people defined by a common feeling or goal: "the public" (8, 20, and 23), "anyone who wishes [it]" (6, 24), "the attendants" (28) and "anyone

who approaches [the tour]" (18). In terms of role allocation, the company is actively involved in various processes but migrants tend to be passivized as the recipients of the services. The clearest example is the phrase "The public that attends [the Tour place] daily *is being helped* by the professionals of Lebara Mobile" (23-24). The word "professionals" serves to emphasize the good quality service offered by the company staff, usually trained salespersons.

The Lebara Tour consists of a caravan that travels across Spain offering people to make 3 minutes international phone calls for free in an original setting: "This mobile unit is created for this promotion in particular and has big windows and an absolutely personalised outside decoration. Inside, a living-room has been recreated in order to make the endearing moment of the phone call between the attendants and their beloved ones as comfortable as possible" (25-29). This description is full of hyperbolic expressions that emphasize how the company has designed a special space for transnational communication. One example is the use of the extreme-case-formulation (Pomerantz, 1986) "*absolutely* personalised" (27, *emphasis added*) for a space that, as shown in Figure 5.1, has nothing very personal but just corporate logos. The recreation of a homey space – "a living-room" - contrasts with other not always very comfortable places from where migrants make their phone calls, namely *locutorios.* The warm, cosy space of the Lebara caravan is, however, very limited in time – "3 minutes" (8, 18) – and destination – "your country of origin" (19) – of the services offered. Moreover, it is exhibitionist because people talk from a kind of glass cage where the conversation is only partially private and can be seen from everywhere.

Figure 5.1. The Lebara Tour caravan. Source: retrieved from www.kuyle.info on 3/5/2012.

The destinations of the caravan include cities and neighbourhoods in "Madrid, Andalucía, Levante, Cataluña... all of them with an ethnic majority" (34-35). Here "ethnic" implies foreign people of non-white phenotype and non-Western European origin, in accordance with the colonial legacy of "the invisibility of whiteness as a racial position" (Dyer, 1997, p.3) and the ethnicization of the Other.

In the section "About Lebara Mobile", the Spanish branch of the company is presented as based "in the philosophy of services for the immigrant, getting her closer to her family and her beloved ones with very competitive tariffs to call from the mobile phone to both international and national destinies" (44). I find two outstanding elements in this sentence. The first one regards the use of the word "philosophy", which has strong connotations beyond its Greek etymology (love of knowledge) and suggests a careful system of thinking about general principles and ethical commitments on behalf of the company. The second outstanding element regards the acknowledgement of migrants' multiple belongings through the reference to phone calls to "both international and national destinies". As we will see, this fact contrasts with most of the advertising of mobile phone services is heavily oriented toward international communication, including those from the same company.

The section ends by referring to the ranking of the company in the Spanish market, being between the five main telecom operators as stated by the national regulatory body, the CMT (49).

Text L-8: "Lebara Móvil launches the online sale of free Sims through its Web"[109]

The global topic is to stimulate the use of the company website to buy the Lebara products and it is inferred from the semantic macro structure of the text, composed of the lead and the headline. The former summarizes in three bullet points the information that will be developed in the text. The latter presents a contradictory message: "the *sale* of Sims for *free*" (3-4, *emphasis added*), with reference to the SIM cards people can get online. The special offer requires paying only for the top-up, a different strategy than other telecom

[109] NT: In the original, "Lebara Móvil lanza, a través de su Web, la venta de Sims gratuitas"

operators that sell the SIM card and offer part of the top up "for free" (e.g. Orbitel). A lexical analysis evidences a careful selection of words that make Lebara's self-presentation very positive and differentiates it from competitors: "pioneer" (4, 11), "leader" (10), "new product" (13) and "ahead of the trend in the [telecom] sector" (12). Despite having "more than 150.000 points of sale" (36) in Spain to buy the Lebara services, the company aims to increase its online sales that avoid intermediaries and has full time availability.

Lebara is nominated or referred to as "the company" (9, 10, 17, 27); it is also functionalised as "the Virtual mobile Operator" (14). The commercial target is represented through functionalization: "the customer" (6, 17, 21, 27, 47), collectivisation: "the migrant communities in Spain" (11), "all immigrants living in our country" (13), and generisation: "the immigrant public" (31-32) and "the immigrant" (34). Unlike other texts that tend to passivize migrants, this one represents them in the active form of the verbs most of the time: "[she] can choose in the web the product she wants" (21), and "[they] have the option of internet connection from their mobile sets" (28). The choice of internet connection is a very recent change in the market of prepaid users, conveyed through the deictic expression "since a few days ago" (27).

The options to buy the Sim card range from 0€ to 10€ top-ups (line 20), which presuppose customers have very low incomes. Moreover, the text remembers them to present their ID to receive their Sim card, "in order to obey the Law of Register which regulates the Spanish market" (24-25). At a cognitive level of analysis, which helps us to contextualise the text in its broader context of production, this sentence is doubly meaningful. Firstly, it is one of the few references in the corpus which explicitly acknowledges regulations and implicitly recognises that there are other actors who set the rules for the company to operate. Secondly, it mentions a requirement that their target public – migrants - might not always have if they are undocumented due to legal barriers.

Text L-9: "About Lebara"

This text is similar to L5 in two ways: it is composed by short texts taken from two different windows in the Lebara Group website, and they can be considered as part of the mission statement.

The first text is “About Lebara” and it has a brief history of the company in a quite more informal and personal way, in comparison with the version that closes press releases. In this document, readers get to know the complete name of the founders, three men who are individualised and nominated. They “shared a vision to transform the international calling market, making it easier for migrant communities to stay in touch with friends and family back home” (3-5). Organizational strategic planning distinguishes between company vision and mission. The former is “a perception, foresight, or strategy for future events or direction” (Doyle, 2011). The latter is the “company's reason for existence” (Doyle, 2011) and has to do with everyday management.

The second paragraph starts with a visual metaphor to introduce the mission of the company: “Inspired by the imposing sight of the Telenor building on the road to Bergen airport, the three partners made it their mission to build a company that would represent a range of different communities and would last for generations” (6-8). The Telenor building is where the Norwegian telecom operator has its headquarters, and constitutes a metaphor of technological progress and wealthiness.

The argumentative structure of the text turns the three visionaries into successful businessmen, and their vision into a success story: “more than ten years on, Lebara is one of Europe’s fastest growing mobile companies” (8-9). The deictic expression of time – 10 years - implies a prudential period for a well-planned project to develop and become successful.

The business mental model of the entrepreneurs is occluded behind the rhetoric of a heroic desire to help immigrants. There are no references to profit making or expanding markets until the last sentences of the text, in which readers have a dimension of the company through the number of customers (9), employees (10) and countries covered. An animation shows the years in which they started operating in each country since 2004, preceded by the sentence: “Lebara has *successfully* replicated its *business model* and continues to *grow* year on year” (11, emphasis added).

The second part of the text is the Lebara vision, entitled “Message from the founders, September 2011”. In this sentence there are deictic expression of enunciators’ role – founders - and time, which help readers to understand the context model of the

communicative event. The headline is next to a panoramic image of planet Earth as if taken from the outer space, e.g. from a satellite. One part of the surface is illuminated by white rays that contrast with the dark blue of the background. On the right part it reads: "Lebara will be the brand of choice for 1 billion people by 2020". This sentence has high modality, conveyed through the use of the auxiliary verb "will" that works as a predictor of future events and a marker of certainty. Further in the text, readers realize this is the "ambition" (26) of the company's founders. Their smiling faces occupy the bottom part of the text, which shows three separate photographs in close-up frame with their corresponding names located below as a handwritten signature. They all dress in very formal suits, implying serious business and formality.

The whole text is presented between inverted commas, as if it were the direct speech of their message, presented in the first-person plural. The thematic is more business oriented than the previous part, evidenced by the lexical analysis of vocabulary such as "brand" (17, 26, 32), "ambition" (18, 26), "exceptional growth" (21-22), "customer" (29, 33) and "market" (31). This business talk articulates with the company´s commitment "to continue to enhance the lives of migrant communities all over the world by providing them with the products and services they need" (27-28).

5.2. Western Union: "Connecting Families Around the World"

The Western Union corpus includes nine texts taken from the official website http://corporate.westernunion.com: two press releases (PR), two mission statements (MS) and five corporate social responsibility (CSR) related documents. I started with undated MS and CSR, followed by PR in their chronological order of release. Text WU 1 and W2 are a compilation of short texts, some of them located in different windows when we navigate through the company´s website.

Text WU-1: "connecting families around the world", "about us" and "our values"

This analysis covers three different short texts. The first one opens the company homepage under the headline "connecting families around the world", as shown in Figure 5.2. It addresses customers directly (as evidenced by the use of the second-person pronoun "you"), while the second and third texts - "about us" and "our values" - are part of the

company's mission statement and address investors and stakeholders, employees and agents. Although there is no direct reference to MS, they have some of their key features, namely the aboundance of strategically used adjectives. In accordance with Swales and Roger (1995), MS are a genre of business communication in which "texts draw their color mostly from a variety of adjectives used to characterize activities in a positive light" (1995, p.227).

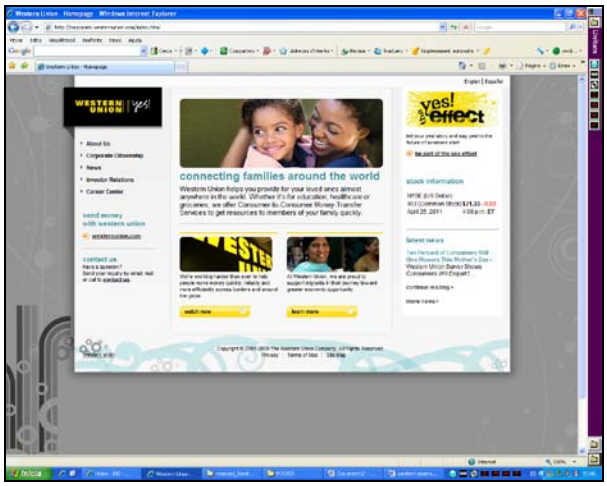


Figure 5.2. Web screenshot of text WU-1, "connecting families around the world".
Source: retrieved from www.corporate.westernunion.com on 11/01/2011.

Each of the three paragraphs that compose the first text is located under a different image. The first image is bigger in size and depicts a close-up of a woman and a child.[110] The suggestive headline provides the global topic or macroproposition: "connecting families around the world". The analysis of local meanings invites to deconstruct this phrase into its lexical components. The absence of the subject, which is grammatically omitted, focuses the attention on the action: to connect. The gerund form of the verb emphasizes the ongoing character if this process. The object of the verbs is "families", social actors represented through "relational identification" (van Leeuwen, 1996). The third element in the headline is a spatial reference - "around the world" - that conveys the idea of a shrinking world where distances do not matter anymore. This is reinforced by the hyperbole "almost anywhere in the world" (3) and the phrase "around the globe" (7). From a socio-cognitive perspective, the references to space as something that can be surpassed and dominated,

[110] For a detailed analysis of this photograph see page Chapter 6..

echoes the ideology of neoliberal globalisation that celebrates unlimited flows of electronic money or "cyber-capital" (Ikegami, 1999). Below the headline, the written text addresses consumers through the use of the second person: "Western Union helps *you* (…)" (3) and "*your* family" (5). At the interpersonal level, the "you" is part of a strategy of interpellation widely used in advertising to engage readers in taking some action (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009, p.50).

At the lexical level, the text starts with the third-person singular, using a verb that conveys a quasi-paternalistic and supportive attitude: "help" (3). Next sentence shifts towards the first-person plural "we" and makes explicit the service the company offers: "Consumer-to-Consumer Money Transfer Services" (4-5). It then lists three possible family expenses customers might deal with through this service: "education, healthcare or groceries" (4). This imbues the text with a sense of the quotidian, close to people's everyday life. The adverb "quickly" (5, 6) promises these resources will be delivered on time. The verb "help" repeats in this second paragraph, preceded by the phrase "We're working harder than ever" (6) that emphasizes special efforts on the company's side. This text is illustrated with an image of part of the company's logo framed in an oblique angle. The aim of this "hard" work is to "move money quickly, reliably and more efficiently across borders and around the globe" (8-9). The use of comparative adjectives – harder (6), more efficiently (7) and greater (8) – implies constant progress and improvement, referred to either the company with regard to its competitors, or migrants' projects.

The third image shows two smiling Indian woman: a close-up of a middle young one in the foreground, wearing a *bindi* or Indian dot and looking at viewers; and a blurred image of an older woman looking elsewhere in the background. The written text below has two verbs that reflect the company's sympathy for its customers: "be proud" and "support" (8). Migrants are defined as going through a "journey towards greater economic opportunity" (8-9). From a socio-cognitive perspective, I consider this wording is not casual but has several implications in the definition of the company's target and its ideological positioning towards migration. First, it implies some specific profile of migrants, namely migrant workers or those who are motivated to move mainly by economic reasons. The sentence is

also revealing of a strong pro-migrant positioning on the side of the company. By using the noun "opportunity" it offers a positive definition of what could have been neutrally referred to as economic reasons, resources, obligations or responsibilities, to name but a few. Moreover, the word "journey" is not only a reference to spatial movement but has other connotations: apart from "an act of travelling from one place to another", it is "a long and often difficult process of personal change and development" (OED, 2013a).

In the text "about us", the first paragraph has a bigger font size than the rest of the text in order to emphasize the company's long history, "160 years",[111] which implies soundness and success in the business world. This first sentence does not specify the service provided, except from "connecting people when it matters most" (11), in which the superlative "most" presupposes urgency and work as an extreme-case-formulation (Pomerantz, 1986). This activity is a work in progress, conveyed through the verb "continues to" (12). Moreover, according to the corporate voice, it has a big impact: "[to] shape the world in which we live" (12). Thus the company locates itself in an outstanding position in both the market and consumers' lives. In this first sentence, the pragmatic identity of the personal pronoun "we" involves the company, the users of the service and the whole society. Such a huge influence of Western Union in people's lives and in the world constitutes a hyperbole that will repeat in other passages and texts. The spatial figure "almost anywhere in the world" (14, also 3) is another hyperbole, as well as the assumption of closeness the company states in relation to its target public: "we speak our consumers' languages and live in our consumers' neighbourhoods. And we share our consumers' cultures. We are a significant part of each other's lives" (16-18). Not only does this reflect an exaggerated interference of the company in people´s lives, but it also leaves out conflict and disagreement, especially on behalf of users who might complain about unfair fees. This was the case in the US in 2007 (Democracy Now, 2007). Conflictive events do not want to be acknowledged by the company, focused exclusively on crafting its positive self-presentation. For a socio-cognitive CDS project, however, it is essential to uncover these omissions:

[111] The ten years difference in the information depicted in the screenshot ("150-years history" instead of "160-years") corresponds to different stages in the process of data collection: I took screenshots in 2011 but collected the written texts in 20/07/2012.

“among the many other semantic properties of this text, we should also mention the importance of what is being left out in the text” (van Dijk, 2009, p.71).

The represented actors in the text are the company and the users of its services. In accordance with van Leeuwen (1996), users are referred to through various ways of representation: assimilation and collectivisation in the word “people” (11); relational identification, in “families and friends” (13); “the communities” (49) and the most recurrent one, functionalization and possessivation, in “our consumers” (15, 16, 17, 26, 35, 40, 48). The company appears either specified or nominated as “Western Union” (13, 15), or functionalised as “our Agents” (16, 19, 35) and/or “our employees” (19, 27, 35). The possessive pronoun “our” locates them as part of the company, which corporate voice speaks in their name. At first, this corporate voice is in the third person singular (11-14), but from line 15 on it shifts to the first person plural “we”. The capital letter of “Agents” is not used for “employees”, who stay at a different level in the organisational hierarchy, at least at the textual level. Agents and employees are equated with “ambassadors” (19), a metaphoric hyperbole that serves to overestimate their roles. An ambassador is “an accredited diplomat sent by a country as its official representative to a foreign country” or, more generally, “a person who acts as a representative or promoter of a specified activity” ((OED, 2013b). In the analyzed context, it works as a metaphor of representatives, indeed very special ones, since they stand for intangible goods: “trust”, “responsibility” and “hope” (20). The text ends with adjectives semantically loaded with the essence of life: “they are the living, breathing manifestation of who we are as a company” (20-21), followed by a list of values that will be defined in the next section.

The section “our values” is organized in five sub-sections named after each value: “integrity” (33), “partnership” (37), “opportunity” (42), “passion” (46) and “teamwork” (50). It addresses “employees, Agents and organizations” (38) and it macro-proposition is teamwork identity building. These actors are referred to as “critical to our success (...) [they] enable us to better understand our consumers (...)” (39-40). They benefit from the company's politics of reward and recognition, as stated in the paragraph about “opportunity” (42), which is specifically addressing employees and agents, possessivized as “our people” (45). If in a previous section they were “ambassadors of hope” and other good

feelings, now they are valued for their entrepreneurship and engagement with various spheres of life the corporate voice arranges in order of importance: “our business, their families and society” (45).

The text starts with an explicit reference to the company’s main goal: “We do business” (25). Although this is obvious, it is generally omitted in other texts which only highlight the company’s commitment to help migrants. The lexical analysis evidences the abundance of adverbial phrases of frequency “each day” (25), day-to-day” (28) and “every day” (31) that emphasizes a continuous and tirelessness activity. The corporate voice says they carry out these business activities “with absolute integrity, honesty and passion” (25). This section of the sentence condenses highly positive meanings - including the extreme-case-formulation “absolute” - that contribute to build the WU brand. Other adjectives that sum to the list are “positive, inclusive and engaging company culture” (29), “ethics, honesty and credibility” (34-35) “trust” (35) “confident” (35), “fast and reliable” (36). The reference to migrants´ “needs” is mentioned twice (26, 40) as something the company “meets” through its services, and make efforts to “understand” (43), a mental process which is not specified (e.g. how and what they achieve it). The corporate voice passivizes migrants in sentences such as “[we] (...) enable our consumers to achieve their dreams” (48). The “needs-talk” is suddenly substituted by what I might call the “dreams talk”, in which the company assumes some kind of superpower ability of making dreams come true. Next, they claim they also “improve our world” (49). The last sub-section, dedicated to the value “teamwork” (50), aims to build the corporate culture drawing on rhetorical structures that mix a commitment with the human race - implied in the phrase “working together for one world” (51) – with capitalist values that reward competition and self-achievement, implied in the phrase “our people share the desire to win” (52). The verb “to win” presupposes some kind of struggle in which two or more parties compete for something; it implies an unavoidable dichotomy, since in order to be winners, there needs always to be losers.

Text W-2: “history” and services”

W-2 includes the texts under the headlines “history”, services” and “leadership”. In the section about “history”, the text makes a brief account of the presence of the company in the market of various services that aim at “connecting” (4): from the telegram that is now

"a memory" (10), to a wide range of financial services (9-10). The company is first presented in the third-person singular, changing to the first-person plural in the last sentence. It is always the active agent in the form of various verbs. In turn, migrants embodied in "friends, families" (4) and "people" (11), are passivized by being the object of the verb "connect".

The text presents various temporal and spatial references which orders the narration in sequential stages, supporting the linearity of ordered evolution – "we expanded and evolved" (8) - encompassing various services, targets and locations. The temporal references go from "for more than 160 years" (3) to "today" (5, 9), "the telegram is a memory", and "we continue a long history (...)" (10). This permanence is related to being a consolidated, well-known brand: "the familiar signs of Western Union have stood as a trusted symbol of connecting friends, families and businesses around the world" (3-4). This spatial expansion is illustrated with the amount of "approximately 500.000 Agent locations in 200 countries and territories" (6-7) and the references to disparaging scales such as "around the corner and around the globe" (11). Positive adjectives abound, describing the company as "trusted" (3), "innovator" (5) and "industry leader" (6), and its services as "fast, reliable and convenient" (12). The text continues with a vertical timeline that comment year per year the important events in the history of the company, but I did not consider it in the current analysis. Instead, I looked at the description of the company's "services" (14) as shown in the figure below.

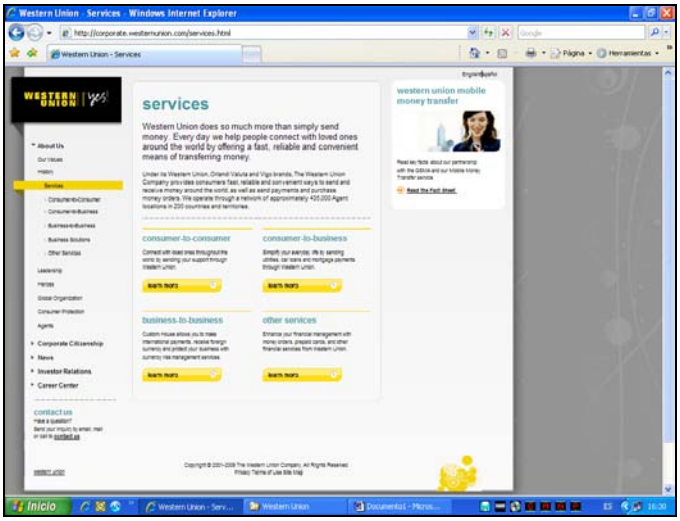


Figure 5.3. Web screenshot of text W-2, "services". Source: retrieved from www.corporate.westernunion.com on 11/01/2011.

This text consists of two introductory paragraphs and four sub-sections with brief descriptions and hyperlinks to extra information on the services offered by the company. The first paragraph has a bigger font size than the second one and offers the global theme of this section: the commitment of the company to help people on the move. Its content resembles previous analyzed texts: a series of positive adjectives to describe the services, "fast, reliable and convenient" (16, 19), the spatial metaphor "around the world" (16, 20) and the references to the "hundred Agent locations" (21).

The first phrase is hyperbolic and contains a persuasive argument on the implications of money for migrant families: "Western Union does so much more than simply send money" (15). The real meaning of the extreme-case-formulation "so much more" is never made explicit, but suggested in the next sentence as the fact of "help[ing] people connect with loved ones" (15-16).

At the lexical level of analysis, the represented characters are the company, that is nominated (including its associated brands listed in line 18) and migrants who are represented through assimilation and collectivisation: "people" (15), and through functionalization: "consumers" (19). Non-migrants appear in a relational identification as "loved ones". In all cases, they are passivized and the objects of the company's "help" (15) and provision (19).

The four sections below the main paragraphs list the variations of the services according to the partners involved in the transaction. All of them address readers through the use of the second-person pronoun "you" (31) or possessive pronoun "your" (25, 28, 32, 34). Each one has a different thematic emphasis. The "Consumer-to-consumer" (24) option is strongly oriented toward the affective dimension: "connect with loved ones throughout the world by sending your support through Western Union" (25-26). "Consumer-to-business" highlights simplicity in managing monthly expenses; "Business-to-business" refers to Custom House, a company specialised in funds services that has joined the company. From a socio-cognitive perspective, "Risk management services" (32) and "Financial management" (34) [listed in "Other services" (33)] reflect contemporary trends in which money has become a volatile item, more dependent on speculation and random events than on productive endeavours.

Text W-3: "corporate citizenship"

Figure 5.4. Web screenshot of text W 3, "corporate citizenship". Source: retrieved from www.corporate.westernunion.com on 11/01/2011.

The macroproposition or global topic of this text is the company's account of its "social performance" (Carroll, 1999, p.1) or corporate citizenship (CC), a phrase that serves as heading. The text is illustrated by the photograph of two Eastern-Asian looking female characters: a woman holding a book and a girl who looks at it. The book conveys a strong symbolism of literacy, education and wellbeing that accompanies the smiling characters.

The first two sentences are highlighted in a bigger size font than the rest of the text, as in the lead of news reports. The first one presents a definition of CC from a global standpoint that extends the conditions of globalisation towards migrants: "Western Union *global* corporate citizenship is our commitment to enrich the lives of *global* citizens by expanding economic opportunity" (3-4, *emphasis added*). It exemplifies CC by mentioning a specific program called "Our World, Our Family" (5). As readers, we are not given much information about it until the end of the text, except from the fact that it constitutes the empirical side of corporate values: "we are able to put our values into action" (5-6).

Like in previously analyzed documents, migrants are referred to with alternative words. Unlike the other documents, however, the discourse on CC does not emphasize their condition of "consumers", a functionalization that appears only twice (21 and 24). This text focuses on migrants as "global citizens" (4), "individuals" (9, 11, 47), "families" (9, 47) and "communities" (9, 12, 20, 23, 30). It is important to observe that some of these words include non-migrants too, namely "families" and "communities. The phrase "global citizen"

(3-4) constitutes a paradigmatic shift in the discursive representation of migrants, both in the context of this corpus and beyond, since it acknowledges above all that no matter where people are born, which is their nationality and legal status, they have rights and duties. In this view, people's defining category is being members of society, independently of national belongings.

The text includes "three primary areas" (7) of CC action. They are presented in the gerund form of the verb, emphasizing the action over the actor and that it is a work in progress: "Supporting Cultural Inclusion" (8), "Creating Pathways to Opportunity" (11) and "Fostering Hope in the Developing World" (15). Each expression is followed by a declarative sentence in which the company is involved in mental processes – "we recognize" (8) - as well as material ones – "we help" (11) and "we support" (15). The company is always portrayed in an active role, while migrants are passivized as the beneficiaries of the company´s actions, they are the objects of verbs like "enrich" (3) and "help" (8, 11, and 46). Sometimes the corporate "we" is taken for granted, while others it is specified in terms of a broader group of actors, in expressions such as "Together with our Foundation and our Agents" (19).

"Cultural Inclusion" highlights a strong sense of community "in which all members can contribute their distinctive talents and feel at home" (9-10). This phrasing reminded me of Amartya Sen´s (1987) famous capability´s approach that questions (and proposes an alternative to) neoliberal conceptualizations of individuals' possibilities for action. Neoliberalism conceives people as rational economic actors who have the same opportunities to compete in equal conditions for success. This conceptualization was explicitly developed in text W-1 that addressed the hard core of the business world – employees, agents and investors– especially in lines 43-44: "we recognize and reward high performers". However, in text WU-3 it appears softened by community values and implicit assumptions of inequality.

In "Creating Pathways to Opportunity" (11), migrants and non-migrants are referred to as talented people with "tremendous potential" (12), using the extreme-case-formulation "tremendous" to emphasize the company's pro-migrant positioning. CC programmes include scholarships for training in various spheres of life: "financial literacy,

entrepreneurship, job training, and other skills necessary on the journey to a better life" (13-14). The journey is used in a metaphorical way, as we saw in text W-1. It is not clear what the corporate voice means by "better life", but it probably relates to Western standards of wellbeing, which relates to the next topic.

The third area of CC action, "Fostering Hope in the Developing World" (15), echoes the developmentalist discourses of the 70s or "the tale of the three worlds" (Escobar, 2002). This based on a hierarchical order of differences and a linear, neo-colonial and hegemonic model of development in which the poor countries of the global south had to imitate rich, developed, north-western countries' standards.

Apart from a global CC for global citizens, the company aims at having "a global reach" (19) in its social performance. However, in the business logic this implies acquiring a commercial omnipresence, which constitutes an end in itself for most contemporary multinational corporations always in search of expanding markets. The company offers itself as "a resource, advocate and trusted partner" (21) to various social groups. "Partner" presupposes relations based on equity, a difficult situation if we think in the power imbalance between the Western Union Corporation and migrant customers. Social groups mentioned in the text include "consumers, grassroots and community organizations, development agencies, and policy makers" (21-22). Their diversity in memberships and agendas is not an obstacle to list them together in what van Leeuwen (1996) conceptualised as a paratactic[112] association: "an alliance which exists only in relation to a specific activity" (1996, p.50). At the semantic level, the company groups them fictitiously as part of their area of incidence. It is worth highlighting the inclusion of governmental actors such as "policy makers" (22) and "governmental organizations" (37), because in the texts analyzed these public actors are usually excluded through "suppression" (van Leeuwen, 1996, p.39).

The text acknowledges the company's previous work on CC, "We have a rich and consistent history of giving back in the communities where we live and work" (22-23). It follows a list of statements related to the wellbeing of employees – "our people" (24) -,

[112] A parataxis is "The absence of relative or dependent clauses (subordination), as in 'I came, I saw, I conquered'. The contrary is hypotaxis: "The frequent use of relative and dependent clauses (subordination), as in 'When I came, then I saw, and, having seen, I conquered'" (Birch, 2009).

migrants - “consumers” (24) - and “society” (25). It is not only about doing business: the company claims “a passion for doing things right” (24) by creating jobs, supporting programs (26), achieving employees´ engagement (29) and generous donations, as this expression claims: “Last year, we gave millions to support disaster relief, education, and human services” (31-32).

From a socio-cognitive perspective, the polemic nexus between migration and development (de Haas, 2010) is present throughout the text in various references to actions that benefit “communities”. The company states “Our citizenship efforts help to amplify the impact of remittances, a powerful force for social good” (27-28). Unlike other texts that talk generally about “financial services” and “money transfers”. With the explicit mention of the word “remittances” together with “impact” and “social good”, the corporate voice echoes neoliberal and developmentalist discourses that have turned individual migrants’ savings and efforts into the panacea of fading economies and structural inequalities.

The last bullet point summarizes the underlying idea of the text: the great influence the company has at all levels. It does so in a hyperbolic, quasi poetic way: “Our impact echoes across oceans, countries and cultures to enrich our global community” (33-34).

In the last section, the text locates the narration at the present time through the use of the deictic expression “today” (36). Then it provides some specific figures about their donations, benefited NGOs, countries covered and other projects. The abundance of numbers, some of them adjectivized with the phrase “more than”, seems to have a double purpose: first, quantitative data usually conveys objectivity on empirical facts; secondly, it reinforces the idea of the company´s omnipresence in both social and business related activities.

The final paragraph give more details on the programme mentioned at the beginning, “Our World, Our Family”: quantitative information (it multimillionaire budget and time span) and the aim of “help[ing] aspiring individuals and their families stay connected, overcome barriers, and realize their dreams” (46-48). This supportive action is possible by partnerships with other actors from both within (agents, employees, the Foundation) and outside the company (governmental and non-governmental organizations, “other company-supported initiatives”).

Text W-4: "corporate social responsibility fact sheet"

Like the previous text, this one focuses on the global topic of the company´s social performance through diverse donations and programmes by the Western Union Foundation. It is located in another menu at the website: "News/Media Room", as shown in the figure below.

The lead locates the company historically early in time and as very influential in people´s lives: "For more than 150 years, consumers have trusted Western Union to connect with friends and loved ones across the globe" (2-3). The verb "connect" means to keep in touch, implied in the various services WU has provided since its origins: telegrams and money transfers. The expressions of space "across the globe" (4) and "in the world" (5) reinforce the idea that the services are available everywhere, in line with the rhetoric of "the connectionist world" (Licoppe, 2004, p.152) that nurtures the globalising discourses of a shrinking world.

Words like "philosophy" (6) and "foundations" (7) provide argumentative strength to the company's commitment to "support the communities in which our employees and consumers live and work" (6-7). The company's voice put employees and consumers at the same semantic level through a family style that conceals power differences, interests and agendas. In the same sentence, the nominalised company represented in the third-person singular – Western Union (6) - shifts to the first-person plural with the use of the possessive pronoun "our" (6). The corporate "we" claims being "proud" of its "every day" activity, drawing on the 7/24[113] rationale of postindustrial experiences of time in which "money never sleeps"[114]. The company's global reach is emphasized across the text through expressions such as "worldwide" (10, 16, 19) and "around the world" (12-13, 21).

From line 9 on, the Western Union Foundation becomes the main topic, introduced through praising expressions: "philanthropic", "charitable giving", "generous donations" (10) and "those most in need" (12). The text splits in three sub-sections: "key facts", "recent projects" and "key partnerships". The first one offers quantitative data on the million dollars

[113] This means seven days of the week, 24 hours a day.

[114] "Money never sleeps" is a 2010 film by American director Oliver Stone.

given, the amount of places covered, the students who benefited from scholarships, the programmes developed and the WU agents involved. As mentioned in the analysis of the previous text, numeric data helps to convey objectivity and emphasize the company's omnipresent powers. The section "recent projects" (23), details the million dollars that the company's latest charitable programme, "Our World, Our Family®", has given to projects in Costa Rica and Haiti. The mention of The Clinton Global Initiative (24) legitimises the importance and seriousness of the activities. The discourse appears textured by traces of the market jargon, like the small "R" letter next to the name of the programme, a symbol of registered trademark that protects the company from third parties using it without paying copyright fees.

Text W-5: "SMART Communications and Western Union to Deliver Mobile Remittances in the Philippines"

The heading and the lead of this press release provide the macro-proposition of this text: Western Union joins part of its services with a Philippine telecom provider in order to "Deliver Mobile Remittances" (2-3) in that country.

The dateline works as deictic expression of place and time, mentioning the two places where each company's headquarters are based: in the US (Englewood) and the Philippines (Manila). It also says "BUSINESS WIRE", a company that disseminates other companies' news releases "to news media, financial markets, disclosure systems, investors, information web sites, databases and other audiences" (Wikipedia, 2012).

Like most WU press releases, the text addresses investors and business people who might have a precise "context model of the communicative situation" (van Dijk, 2009a, p.67). This means to be aware of the setting, participants and events referred to in the documents, including the meaning of stock market jargon such as "NYSE:WU" (10). This indicates the acronym of the New York Stock Exchange where the company quotes.

The aim of the collaboration between the companies is "to jointly develop and pilot a Mobile Money Transfer service" (12) that offers "low-principal, high-frequency remittances available to the country's more than 8 million Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs)" (14-15). At a local meaning level, migrants are assimilated through quantified aggregation (van Leeuwen, 1996, p.48): "more than 8 million". This quantity presupposes a

rich market niche of potential customers highly valued in commercial endeavours. The noun "workers" homogenises and functionalises migrants in a socio-economic category marked by low-income and constrained opportunities for wellbeing. In the context of the Philippines, however, the expression "OFW" (15, 24-25) describes a wider phenomenon: a historical practice of people who get jobs abroad as part of a life strategy. Its growing importance has resulted in its regulation by the country legislation and its promotion by the national authorities as part of a national development strategy (*Migrant Workers Act*, 1995).

The companies are specified through individualisation, nomination and functionalization. E.g. "Napoleon Nazareno, SMART president and CEO" (25), "Matt Dill, General Manager, Western Union Mobile" (34). Spokespersons´ statements are presented in the text in the direct speech form, actively involved in verbal processes as "sayers" (Halliday, 1967). They talk about OFW who, apart from being quantified, do not speak for themselves. SMART president highlights "the significant role they play in not only contributing to the country's economy, but also in making sure their families' financial and communications needs are met at the time they need them" (25-28). This statement has several implications. First, it reflects a macroeconomic perspective on remittances that considers their contribution to national economies as a main goal, and then, in a second place, families´ well-being. This mental model is probably not shared by individual migrants, whose migratory projects tend to be mainly motivated by their personal and families´ wellbeing above all and who are probably not aware or interested in a national level impact. The company spokesperson defined their "needs" limited to the financial and communicative dimensions, in accordance with the areas covered by the companies.

The text presents lot of quantitative data that serves to convey objectivity and empirical background to various statements formulated as extreme-case-formulations. Thus the account of locations and countries covered by the company supports the statement that WU is "the industry's *largest* global money transfer Agent network" (30, *emphasis added*). A WU spokesperson offers quantitative data about the weight of OFW and highlights that "mobile phone plays a *tremendous* role in keeping families connected" (33-34, *emphasis added*). After acknowledging this, he resignifies it in terms of a new business model, echoing a corporate mental model in which expansion and exploitation of new market niches are

highly valued: “a real opportunity to extend the reach of Western Union's brand and service proposition to a new and more mobile consumer base" (35-36). This has derived into a new department in the WU complex: the WU Mobile.

The text continues with a general picture of international migration that quantifies it worldwide in absolute and relative numbers. The use of the word “immigrants” (37) acknowledges only one part of the story, that is, people born abroad from the perspective of the society of arrival. In this general context of international migration, the Philippines is ranked as “the fourth-*largest* receiver of remittances in the world and received an estimated $17 billion USD in 2007” (38-40, *emphasis added*). The World Bank is quoted as source of the data, a well-known institutional actor that legitimizes its veracity.

“Mobile wallet” is a pioneer concept at the time in which this PR was disseminated (2008), and appears in the text twice, first between inverted comas (44) and then without them (46). The text explains how this system works in a simple and neutral style. This time, migrants are represented as “consumers” (46, 60) and, later in the text, when it refers to SMART, they are “subscribers” (67). Both ways of representation are functionalizations (those who consume and those who subscribe) and they evidence commercial relationships between users and suppliers.

The quantitative references to the high penetration of mobile networks and mobile phones worldwide presuppose a great potential for business. In particular, if each mobile phone user is considered a potential customer of the financial industry. However, the argumentative structure puts it in the background in order to highlight the democratisation of financial services in terms of an “opportunity” of access that “many of the world's families [have] for the first time” (51).

The last sentence contextualizes the collaboration of WU with the telecom as part of a broader strategy carried out together with the GSM Association. This was briefly mentioned at the beginning of the text in connection with the “Mobile Money Transfer strategic initiative” (13). Now it is defined as “a global trade association representing over 700 GSM mobile phone operators, to facilitate the development of cross-border mobile money transfer services”, making explicit the magnitude of such association.

The text finishes describing aspects already covered in previous analysis (WU profile) and SMART´s description of the Philippines' mobile network market, which goes beyond the scope of the current analysis.

Text W-6: "Western Union Foundation Awards First Scholarships under the Family Scholarship Program Pilot"

This text presents the Family Scholarship Pilot Program "focused on awarding scholarships to families within the Guatemalan and Filipino diaspora in the Los Angeles, California, area and is now expanding to include the Mexican diaspora as well" (7-9).

The social actors represented are migrants, the foundation (main enunciator) and its business partners. Like previous examples, company spokespersons are individualised, nominated and functionalised: "Luella Chavez D'Angelo, president, Western Union Foundation" (19-20). Unlike previous text, however, there are innovative ways of representing migrants. In the expression "migrant workers and their families" they are presented through relational identification as members of kinships and also functionalised (those who work). This might presuppose a specific socio-economic status – the working class - in accordance with theories of social stratification. In the second sentence, migrants are categorised as "diaspora" (8, 9), a word that refers to people who despite living in other places different from those of birth, experience strong feelings of belonging to their region of origin, maintaining socio-cultural practices accordingly. In the text, diasporas are differentiated in terms of their national origins - Guatemalan, Filipino and Mexican – but they are lexically associated, that is, lumped together as the target groups of the programme.

In the second paragraph, the text introduces the personal stories of two "Filipina immigrant sisters" (10). At first, they are represented through relational identification – sisters - and collectivised, but in the next section of the clause they are nominated and individualised through their proper names: "Carla Mae and Carmela Mae Ubalde" (10). This constitutes a new way of representing migrants in this genre of corporate discourse. As we saw in numerous previous examples, these textual resources of representation tend to be limited to corporate spokespersons. When the sisters are quoted, however, they lose their individuality and talk together as a "we" in order to thank the WU Foundation for "caring

about young people (...) make our family proud" (15) and "make our lives a little easier" (16).

At the semantic level of "role allocation" (van Leeuwen, 1996), the analysis evidences multiple axes of activation and passivation. At first, they are passivized as the beneficiaries who "received scholarships" (10) to continue their studies at University. Then they are presented as active actors that "study" (12), "volunteer" (12) and "work at various jobs" (14). Besides these material processes, they are involved in verbal process when they are quoted in direct speech. However, their "linguistic agency" does not coincide with their "sociological agency" (van Leeuwen, 1996, p.32). Sometimes the represented actor has an active grammatical role (the actor *does* something) but this does not necessarily implies agency in the extra-textual world. Although the sisters are grammatically active, they are the object of the Foundation's help, so they are always passivized. Some examples are: "we are so grateful" (14) and "we truly appreciate your gift" (17), as well as passive "you've helped us" (15) and "these scholarships will make both our lives a little easier" (16).

The corporate "we", embodied by the Foundation president, categorise the sisters through overlapping identities in terms of values ("these hard-working", 18), age ("young", 18), sex ("women", 19) and nationality, conveyed through collectivisation in the expression "Filipino community" (19). Her quotation continues with a statement on the advantages of (formal) education, from the general definition of "a universal need" (20) to the specific impact on the lives of "these two sisters" (21), now referred to through relational identification.

After the announcement of the programme in the first paragraph, the presentation of two individual beneficiaries in the second one and the corporate spokesperson's speech in the third one, the fourth paragraph contextualises the programme as part of the company's broader actions. It offers data on the time period it will cover and the million dollar budget it involves. The target of the actions is generalised by the mass noun "communities" (26) with the implication of being in "the cycle of poverty" (26-27), and "families" (29) which the company help to "stay connected, overcome barriers and realize their dreams" (29). The paradox in these statements is that while they acknowledge that people have their own dreams, the corporate discourse frames its programme in a top-

down approach in which they define poverty, they identify the needs, the opportunities and the help. This echoes development jargon in which conceptions of poverty reduction are built from a Western perspective.

The fifth paragraph introduces an external institutional actor that legitimises the process of allocation of the scholarships: the IIE, "an international non-profit educational exchange organization" (31-32). Legitimation is implied when described the Scholarship Program as "independently managed" (30) by this "non-profit" (32) actor. Finally, the text explains that, in order to participate, people must initiate "online applications" (32) and it gives the website address. This single option for applying excludes people who might have no digital literacy or equipment to access.

The last part of the text is divided in three subsections dedicated to present in more detail each of the institutional actors mentioned in the text: the WU Foundation, the WU Company and the IIE.

W-7: "The Western Union Foundation Accelerates Efforts to Promote Economic Opportunity"

The heading of this PR claims that the WU Foundation commits itself to "promoting economic opportunity". The verb "accelerates" presupposes the existence of previous actions -"efforts"- in this direction. The lead highlights the million dollars granted in the second quarter of 2009, what is repeated in the first paragraph. The name of the grants programme is followed by the small "R" letter of registered trademark that protects the company from third parties using it, and indirectly reminds readers that this is a business context beyond all philanthropy. The programme covers NGOs in 19 countries in a wide range of locations, covering migrants as well as non-migrants with various aims: "to promote microfinance in North India, to assist Vietnamese migrants in Taiwan through language acquisition classes, and to provide business guidance to owners of small farms in Bangladesh" (13-15). These actions presuppose positive outcomes for the people who receive the aid. However, under a critical light, it would be reasonable to question what kind

of “business guidance” do small farmers in Bangladesh receive, whether it is respectful of local knowledges and/or avoid transgenic and agro-toxic strategies.[115]

Besides the aforementioned programme, the text mentions three other initiatives of the WU Foundation: the “Agent Giving Circle program” (17), the “Family Scholarship program” (32) and the “African Diaspora Marketplace” (43).

The “Agent Giving Circle program” highlights the collaboration with the company's Agents, presented as “the face and voice of Western Union” (18). This is a “somatisation (...) a form of objectivation in which social actors are represented by means of reference to a part of their body” (van Leeuwen, 1996, p.60). In the website of the foundation agents are simply defined as “local businesses” that subscribe to the company's network and “earn a commission for each transaction, sent or received” from the agent place. Agents range from post offices to mobile phone shops, internet cafes and others.[116] According to the text, agents have a privileged position in their knowledge about the WU commercial target, what is implied in the phrase “[agents] are well-placed to understand the needs of local consumers” (19). The company has developed this special programme in which agents can be donors too, covering various spheres of action “vocational programs for adolescents in Colombia, educational opportunities for ethnic minority students in the United States and the integration of immigrants in Belgium” (21-23). Again, the good intentions in these interventions can lead to problematic questions, for instance, what it is meant by “integration”.

Next paragraph starts with a quote of the president of WU Foundation who is, as usual, nominated and functionalised. She frames the Agent Giving Circles as “global philanthropy” (24-25) and adopts a development vocabulary in terms of impact. The text highlights the company’s partnership with one particular NGO for “providing financial education, supporting migrant needs and developing entrepreneurs in six countries: China, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Mexico and the United States” (29-31). Migrant needs are mentioned but not specified, although the phrase presupposes they match well. The list of

[115] In order to check what the “business guidance” was about, I visited www.foundation.westernunion.com but could not find projects in Bangladesh in the website by November 2012.

[116] For example, in Barcelona I found various jewellery shops that work as a WU agents.

countries where the programme works shows diversity of migratory contexts, some of them are well known for being international migrant senders– India and Mexico– others are mainly migrant destinations –US – while other countries, like China, have important flows of both regional migration and overseas Chinese migrants.[117]

The Family Scholarship programme focuses on "migrants, immigrants and their families and is intended to help two members of the same family move up the economic ladder through education" (33). The metaphor of the "economic ladder" presupposes a mental model in which self-achievement, competition and meritocracy may lead to a gradual ascent towards wealthiness. These individually oriented values are typical of the neoliberal ideology that promotes competition and the law of the stronger.

The family is at the centre of this programme. The word is in its name, repeated in every sentence and located at various countries: "Families in the U.S., Mexico, Jamaica, Kenya and the Philippines will benefit" (34-35). From this global scenario, the text becomes more focused on specific individuals. Although they are individualised, they are never nominated but just relationally identified as members of a kinship and categorized by their national origin:

> A single mother in California who will attend English classes while her daughter becomes the first in the family to attend college. Two brothers from Kenya will pursue their dreams to promote sustainable development in rural Kenya, with one brother working toward a degree in New York and the other brother attending university in Njoro, Kenya. Two Filipina sisters will also pursue university degrees, one in Korea and the other in Leyte, Philippines (lines 36-41).

Unlike their passivation as "recipients" (35), in this passage, the people are actively represented as engaged in educational activities, e.g. "attend" (36, 37, 39), and "working toward a degree" (38-39). The verb "pursue" is used with reference to both "university degrees" (40) and the more volatile category of "dreams" (37). People are marked by different layers of inequalities or disadvantaged positions that presuppose the WU programme will compensate. The first recipient mentioned in the text is "a single mother in

[117] These categories are highly dynamic and change in time, so countries can change their status of receiver to sender, as it has been the case in contemporary Spain.

California" and her daughter. The fact of attending English classes implies she is not an American citizen and being a single mother serves to present her as fragile in a system of thought that tends to victimize women. "Her daughter becomes the first in the family to attend college" implies that, for any reason, they have not attended higher formal education before, what usually constitutes a marker of low socio-economic class; it remains unclear if "the family" here refers to just mother and daughter or if it considers an extended family context. The other recipients mentioned in the text have Kenyan and Philippine origins, countries that are classified as developing by Western standards and in which very small percentages of the population can access tertiary education.[118]

The third initiative of the WU Foundation presented in this PR is the African Diaspora Marketplace. Apart from the WU Company, it involves "the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)" (43-44) that works as a powerful institutional actor to legitimise the initiative in front of the international business and governmental community. The aim is to "boost economic opportunity and job creation in Sub-Saharan Africa through Diaspora-driven development" (44-45). This concept presupposes migrants' transnational engagement in the progress of their countries of origin: as diaspora, they are people leaving abroad who nevertheless keep a feeling of belonging towards origin, what motivates them to support it in various ways (e.g. financially, knowledge transference, social capital, etc.).

The last two paragraphs repeat information on the WU Foundation and the company that I have already analyzed in previous texts. The first one includes a new piece of information about the recognition of the "Our World, Our Family$^{(R)"}$ signature program" by the "Committee Encouraging Corporate Philanthropy in 2009". There is no detailed information on this award or about the committee, what might be a well-known institution for the intended public of the text immersed in the business world. Since I lack this context model, I checked their website and found out that they are "the only international forum of business CEOs and chairpersons focused exclusively on corporate philanthropy"(CECP, 2012). In order

[118] According to the World Bank, in 2005 only 3% of Kenyans and 27,5% of Filipinos enrolled in tertiary studies, in contrast to 66% of Spanish and 82,2% of United States citizens (World Bank, 2012).

to become a member, companies must receive an invitation and pay an annual fee of $10,000, what turns it into a very selective club.

Text W-8: Hiring of foreign workers gets business vote of confidence

The headline announces the global theme of this text in which business representatives support the "hiring of foreign workers" (2). The syntactic structure of the sentence put this fact first in order to highlight it, leaving those who support or give the "vote of confidence" (2) in the background. The lead has a different structure in which the business world, referred to as "companies" (3), are the active agents who "Want Access to Specialized Skills to Compete as Economic Growth Resumes" (3)".

The text starts with the preposition "despite" to introduce a negative context described in "reports". The source of this report (author, title, etc.) is not specified but they acknowledge a "protectionist and nationalistic sentiment prompted by the global recession" (4-5). Both protectionism and nationalism tend to be promoted by specific political actors that here are only presupposed, but not made explicit.

In this scenario, the main clause of the sentence claims that "world business leaders believe that migration continues to be good for business and the economy" (5-6). This statement has important implications for the way in which migratory processes are understood, defined, and consequently defended. First, they are understood in utilitarian terms, having a positive impact for business people: "world business leaders" who "believe", a mental process which in this context expresses certainty. Secondly, the verb "continues to be" implies the confirmation of an ongoing reality, a situation –migration – that was, is and probably will be like this. Thirdly, it implies a strong pro-migrant position by powerful actors whose power emerges from their identification with the "world" (they have multiple geopolitical origins and reach), "business" (the private sector which influence has grown with globalisation processes) and a "leader" class (those who direct processes and have decision-making power). This is emphasized when considering who participated in the survey: "501 global business leaders, of which 43 per cent were C-level executives" (12-13). This means that almost half of respondents were the highest level executives (chief).

The author of the survey, “the Economist Intelligence Unit”, which is only mentioned in line 7, is better described at the end of the text. The last sentence specifies that it conducts “country, industry and management analysis” and that it was founded in 1946 “when a director of intelligence was appointed to serve The Economist” (71-72).

Throughout the text, migrants are referred to as “foreign workers” (2, 8, 10, 12, 18, 22, 24-25 and 32), a way of representation that differentiates foreigners from natives and functionalises them (those who work). They are also impersonalized and objectivized through spatialization as “the world's mobile force” (21, 34 and 42).

The WU Company spokesperson is individualised, nominated and functionalised: “Hikmet Ersek, Western Union chief operating officer-designate” (16-17). His words present the attitudes towards “economic migration” (16) as divided between “politicians” and “business leaders”. The former are “under pressure to protect jobs for locals” (15) and are grammatically passive since the sentence starts with “economic insecurity” as the active agent that puts politicians in that situation. Moreover, this syntax presupposes some superior, non-human entity that controls the situation. The latter are positioned differently: they are active, hopeful and, more importantly, neoliberal: “business leaders still see an open economy with economic migration as essential to drive the recovery” (15-16). The word “recovery” presupposes there is a negative situation or experience to be recovered from, what has been referred to earlier in the text through phrases like “economic growth resumes” (3), “global recession” (5) and “economic insecurity” (14). This structure serves for “outgroup derogation and ingroup celebration” (van Dijk, 2009, p.81), that is, “negative other-presentation, and positive self-presentation” (2009, p.70).

The text is then divided into five sub-sections with long and informative statements as headings: “Foreign Workers Fill Specific Staffing Needs” (18), “Despite the Value, Businesses Stop Short of Protecting Their Ability to Maintain a Competitive Workforce” (27-28), “Methodology” (47), “About the Western Union Company” (58) and “About the Economist Intelligence Unit” (69).

In the first section, the argumentative structure focuses on defending foreign workers by questioning widespread prejudices or, as the text calls them, “perceptions” (19): “Contrary to perceptions that more stringent immigration regulations will safeguard jobs for

local candidates and boost local economies, global business leaders overwhelmingly believe that the world's mobile workforce meets critical employment needs" (19-22). One of these perceptions opposes foreign and local workers, as if the latter had fewer chances to get a job because of the former's presence. The argument proceeds by questioning "stringent immigration regulations" (19) to protect the local workers and "boost local economies" (20). Again, the public actor is not explicitly mentioned but presupposed as the author of the regulations. The adjective "stringent" reinforces the idea that these regulations are excessively severe. The clause that develops the aforementioned argument starts with the phrase "contrary to", what functions as a rhetorical device that preconditions readers' attitude toward the sentence. The same effect was pursued in the previous paragraph, when the sentence started with the conjunction "while" (14). In the second– and main – clause, the position of the majority of the surveyed people is presented and defended: "global business leaders overwhelmingly believe that the world's mobile workforce meets critical employment needs" (20-22). The use of the adverb "overwhelmingly" constitutes an extreme-case-formulation to support the claim. Next sentence offers part of the results of the survey that work in the same direction, such as a majority of "executive respondents [who] report hiring foreign workers" (22) and the main reasons they have for doing so. According to the text, they highlight workers' specific skills and its positive impact on the whole workforce as well as on the company's performance in a highly competitive "global market" (25).

The second section focuses on the challenges and difficulties for companies to hire foreign workers, summarized in the headline: "Despite the Value, Businesses Stop Short of Protecting Their Ability to Maintain a Competitive Workforce" (27-28). The argumentative structure repeats the aforementioned ones in which the first word of the sentence, in this case the preposition "despite", acknowledges a situation only to refute it in the other clause. Up to now, these argumentative structures can be schematically written as:

Despite A, it is ,B (4)
Contrary to A, it is B (19)
While A, it is B (14)

In this schema, “B” would stand for the free circulation of labor, and “A” stands for all the factors that influence a negative attitude towards it, especially coming from governments’ regulations. Thus the prevailing mental model in this text is based on conceptual polarisations. There are two other examples of this argumentative structure used to highlight how businessmen support migrant workers’ free movement but do not take action on this (27 and 36). Respondents expressed having difficulties to hire enough foreign workers due to “current regulations” (31). The word “regulations” presupposes the presence of public actors as their author, although they are explicitly omitted.

The text mentions specific difficulties “to hire foreign workers for low-skilled jobs” (32-33), partially acknowledging the hierarchical ordering of “foreign workers” according to the type of jobs. Some of the difficulties reported in the text, are “the limited number of quotas/visas (...) followed by a process that is too complicated and costly” (33-35). This argument is thematically structured, starting first from the general fact of restrictive regulations, until going to the particular examples of visas acquisition.

WU spokesperson is quoted to highlight the paradox in which businessmen are, in terms of an opposition between their beliefs and their actions: “While businesses clearly see the benefits of an open labor market, very few of them are actually involved in advocating publicly for it” (36). The expression “open labor market” implies a capitalist mental model that celebrates a free market economy and condemns the intervention of governments and regulatory bodies, be it about foreign workers, custom duties or taxes, etc. At a lexical level of analysis, It is worth mentioning that the adjective “open” repeats throughout the text accompanying various nouns (and sensitive issues): “open economy” (15), “open labor market” (36), and “more open immigration employment laws” (38-39).

The statement by the spokesperson serves to introduce survey data on whether respondents have tried to intervene in regulations, by asking governments more flexible regulations:

> Worldwide, only 15 percent of executives say they have asked their government for more open immigration employment laws. According to the survey, fewer than one in 10 (eight percent) are advocating for migration processes or programs under their own company name (lines 37-41).

Even when the text – and in turn, the survey– has positioned executives as valid negotiators in front of governments, responses in this sense got very low rates. The WU spokesperson emphasizes the transnational advantages of foreign workers. He does not use that word, but highlights the flows of resources between origin and destination from a developmentalist perspective: "As well as enabling development at home, the 'mobile workforce' provides key skills to employers in a host country or region" (42-43). As I mentioned before, at a lexical level migrants are impersonalised and objectivised in the mass noun "mobile workforce". They are also functionalised as workers, but the benefits of their work are seen from a macro perspective that serves the territorially arranged units of origin – home − and destination – host − countries. There is no argument in favour of the human right to move freely, it is all about "development" and "skill transfers". Last sentence in the spokesperson´s quote includes the institutional voice, in the first-person plural, strongly positioning the company towards `mobile´ workers: "Serving the world's mobile workforce is one of our company's core competencies" (43-44).

Before the third section on "Methodology", the text includes the company website address where there is more information on the aforementioned survey, known as "the Western Union Global Workforce Impact Survey" (45). The "Methodology" section adds information on the respondents' geographical location and on the size of organizations in terms of annual revenues. The text highlights a good participation of large organizations, what presupposes legitimate results in terms of relevance and representativeness.

The two last sections offer institutional information on WU and the institute to which the survey was commissioned. The former includes some quantitative information on the company´s performance during 2008, the year before the document was released. These figures surprise for their volume and give a hint on the intense movement of money and millionaire revenues of intermediaries of connectivity, in this case, money transfers, many of which occur across borders and/or in migratory contexts.

W-9: "Western Union Foundation Gives $1.8 Million to Create Global Economic Opportunity"

This PR is an update of the most recent donations made by the WU Foundation, its quantities and the supported projects. The heading presents the Foundation in the active

role of giving a big sum of money. This is made explicit in million dollars, with the aim of "Creat[ing] Global Economic Opportunity". This is an ambiguous expression that could be interpreted in many different – and probably conflicting − ways, depending on who benefits from what opportunities.

The datelines work as deictic expressions of time (5) and place (9) which help to contextualise the text. This is divided in four sections, "Nearly 50 Charitable Organizations Receive Support During Quarterly Grant Cycle" (7), "Building Bridges Between Migrants and Receiving Communities" (22), "Creating Opportunities and Choices at Home" (43) and the usual closing section "About the Western Union Foundation" (62).

The first section offers very brief contextual information about what "global economic opportunity" is. Charitable Organisations are assimilated through quantified aggregation (van Leeuwen, 1996, p.48) and passive actors of the Foundation's grants, resources they distribute in cycles of four times a year. This passivation is soon reversed in the first paragraph, when the text represent organisations as those that "address the many challenges facing the global migrant population, including access to labor markets and job training programs, language acquisition and acculturating into their new communities" (12-14).

At the lexical level, migrants are referred to as "the global migrant population" (12), a way of assimilation and collectivisation in the mass noun "population". Throughout the text, there are also some references to cultural diversity. However, these are still generalisations and classifications according to various criteria: date of arrival to a destination country –"new immigrants" (24), "recent immigrants" (24, 27-28)– or educational level –"college educated immigrants" (30) or provenance– "migrants, who are moving from outlying areas and Nepal to India's city centers" (36-37). Sometimes migrants are represented as active agents but in situations of suffering and sacrifice, as expressed by the president of the WU Foundation: "Today, many individuals endure loneliness and exile, simply to provide food, shelter and other basic necessities for loved ones back home" (15-16). Although the verbs "endure" and "provide" put them in a grammatically active role, their "sociological agency" (van Leeuwen, 1996) is severely constrained by structural conditions in which distance and breadwinner roles condition their wellbeing. After this

argument, the spokesperson has the perfect scenario to introduce the Foundation's work supporting organisations which aim to "ease some of the burdens faced by these people and their families, giving them a chance to build a better life". The Western Union Foundation's greatest goal is "to help people prosper and create economic opportunity" (18-20). With this last sentence, it is clear that "global economic opportunity" refers to migrants'.

Another example in which migrants are grammatically agentive but only in relation to difficult situations appears in the second section of the text: "New immigrants face a number of obstacles to success" (24). The text continues with reference to the Foundation's active role in overcoming difficulties: "Several grants will help ease this transition" (24-25). At the lexical level, the word transition connotes a temporary situation and assumes dynamic change in people's lives and experiences. It follows a list of projects and the amount of money they are granted, all of them covering a wide range of geographical locations and migrant contexts in which both origin and destination societies are involved. This is summarized in the headline of this sub-section: "Building Bridges Between Migrants and Receiving Communities" (22) and also in the first project in the list. This one has the highest grant for two actors that are not specified but assumed to be the "charitable organisations" mentioned at the beginning of the text: "A $100,000 grant to Public Interest Projects for Welcoming America will support a national grassroots effort to promote understanding and respect between recent immigrants and their U.S.-born neighbours by fostering awareness and providing integration programs" (26-29). This presupposes an innovative approach to integration, understood not as the sole efforts migrants should make, but as multiple actors' efforts, including natives or "U.S. born neighbours".

The second grant in the list addresses "college educated immigrants" who want to enter the US labor market in accordance with their former training, providing "individualized career counselling, coaching and mentoring to help these job seekers secure professional careers" (33-35). It does so through Upwardly Global, and organisation which is only mentioned but not described in detail.

The third grant listed in the text is for an Indian organisation, Shivi Development Society, which offers specific services for Nepalese people in India: "[it] will help connect

migrants, who are moving from outlying areas and Nepal to India's city centers, with vital local resources and training programs to boost language skills, promote job readiness and encourage civic engagement" (36-39). The project also includes activities to raise public awareness in the destination society – India – "to reduce societal prejudices against migrants, and promote advocacy programs that support debate on comprehensive national migration policy" (39-41). "Societal prejudices" might be a polite way of saying racism and xenophobia, two violent practices of social organisation that might intensify with migration. It is interesting to notice that this programme also deals with policy, including the public actors in the process.

The third section focuses on grants the Foundation gives to programmes aimed at non-migrant people, under the title "Creating Opportunities and Choices at Home" (43). Target groups are passivized as the receivers of "support" (45) and "help" (47), but they are activated when referring to the activities that they carry on: "a group of women who have developed tourism services and attractions along a heavily used highway in rural South Africa" (45-46). In any case, the help always consists in intervening non-Western contexts with Western approaches on how to become (economically) successful, such as "marketing and business development" (48) for entrepreneur African women, and "training in business planning, business modelling, investment analysis, market analysis and business governance" (50-51) to Chinese University students.

The last paragraph before the corporate information is a short manifesto in which the company positions itself in favour of mobility – "people and enterprises on the move" (57) – and connectivity – "technology and infrastructure" (56) – for the less advantaged – "the underserved" – but also a wider public: "small business owners who compete abroad and for everyday consumers with financial needs" (58-59).

5.3. Concluding Remarks

Beyond the specificities of their distinctive services and discursive genres, MP and MT operators have developed a strong pro-migrant positioning. This fact does not come as a surprise, but as a logical consequence of their commercial interests. One of the challenges faced in this chapter has been to identify the discursive mechanisms of such positioning

through multiple semantic and argumentative strategies that contest some problematic ideas about migration widespread in contemporary societies, while reifying others.

In online written texts, I identified the corporate pro-migrant positioning through two discursive strategies: needs-talk and polarisation. Needs-talk echoes Nancy Fraser's concept in the context of welfare public policies (Fraser, 1989, p.291), as a top-down discourse that defines and institutionalizes what people need in various spheres of life. Corporations also craft migrants' needs on a top-down basis, in accordance with their business models based on low-cost services of international connectivity. Hence, they construct a particular customer profile by conflating the migrant condition with a low-income user, usually a working class person who moves across borders for economic reasons. The other discursive mechanism of pro-migrant positioning I identified is polarisation, which consists in presenting actors in a dichotomous "Us-Them" logic, elaborating positive self-definitions in contrast to others' negative features (van Dijk, 2009a, p.77). Written corporate discourses promote a common alignment between the business world and immigrants, in which the former appropriates the needs and desires of the latter, who in turn benefit from the good prices and services the companies customize for them. Thus polarization does not occur between the company and migrants, but between private and public interests. In most cases, governments and politicians are practically absent from the texts. This constitutes a particular argumentative strategy that serves to erase a crucial actor of migration in other discursive fields (e.g. mass media and parliamentary debates). The few occasions in which governmental actors are mentioned, it is for being criticized for their restrictive policies. By contrast, the companies support the free movement of migrant workers worldwide, they show sensitivity towards the negative effects the economic crisis has had particularly on migrants, and define themselves as a big family together with customers, stakeholders, agents and others members included in the corporate "we". These strategies occlude neoliberal ideologies of the free market and help to construct the image of the protective corporation, which roles range from supportive and sensitive ones in a business relationship between firm and client, to paternalistic and philanthropic ones in corporate social responsibility statements.

Despite representing migrants as a quite homogeneous, impersonalized and dependent (passive) group, corporate discourses also portray them in innovative ways. I have identified at least three subject positions of migrants that were neglected in the broader field of public discourse but that enterprises have discursively attributed to their target group: consumption, citizenship and familyhood.

Consumption defines subjects as economic agents positioned in commercial relationships and implies acknowledging migrants' presence and participation in market societies. As it was demonstrated by the civic rights movements in the US during the 1960s, being recognized as a consumer is part of the process of citizenry (Baladrón Pazos, 2009; Halter, 2002). One text goes a step further and develops the idea of migrants as "global citizens".[119] This constitutes a paradigmatic shift in the discursive representation of migrants, both in the context of this corpus and beyond, since it locates people's rights and duties beyond place of birth, nationality and legal status. Words like "migrants" or "immigrants" have become quite pejorative when accompanied by negative adjectives such as "illegal" and nouns like "invasion", especially in much media and parliamentary discourses. However, in corporate texts the word "migrant" and its variations appear always under a positive light, in association with words that somehow dignify the act of migrating. Some examples are "migration processes", "migrant workers", "migrant communities" and "migrant families". Finally, the new subject positions corporations offer migrants in relation to familyhood situate MT and MP services beyond their literal meaning, as practices imbued with a strong symbolic dimension marked by emotions and affect.

To sum up, corporate discourses have crafted specific subject positions (such as the connected migrant and the protective corporation) and they have constructed new relationships (such as the commercial ones between service providers and migrant customers, or personal relationship within transnational families), reflecting the emergence of a different system of knowledge about immigrants.

[119] See text W-8 in Appendix I.

6.Commodification of Migrant Connectivity II: the corporate gaze

Advertisement is imagination: you can't believe everything.
Malika (interviewee)

This chapter continues to develop the idea of commodification presented in the previous chapter in which I analyzed corporate online discourses. It focuses on migrants' visual representations in advertising campaigns of MP and MT services, offering a complementary piece of evidence on other discursive mechanisms through which private actors have reflected and redefined migrants' identities and connectivity needs to fit their business models. Unlike long written texts addressing mainly investors and stakeholders, ads draw on the visual language, they base on the economy of expressive resources through short direct messages and they target a different public: consumers.

The metaphor of the corporate gaze serves to illustrate the processes of simplification and fixation of complex realities for the sake of persuasion. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the advertising genre tends to rely on stereotypes that fix diverse and complex experiences into predictable patterns. In this sense, I argue that companies' visual discourses operate as a gaze which objectifies migrants' identities and reifies their experiences of connectivity, privileging the image of a hyper-connected person who needs the companies' services 24 hours a day, seven days a week. This corporate gaze that objectifies migrants echoes Laura "male gaze", referring to the objectification of women's bodies in cinema, and Frantz Fanon´s "white gaze" referring to definitions of blackness as otherness. These perspectives relate to Michael Foucault´s idea of "panopticism" (1995) in which the gaze produced in institutional settings like prisons, hospitals, governments and schools, constitutes a mechanism of surveillance and control: "a relationship of subjects within a network of power – and the mechanism of vision as a mean of negotiating and conveying power within that network" (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009, p.442).

In all, I analyzed 16 examples of ethnic advertisement signed by Lebara telecom and Western Union money transfer through a socio-semiotic lens, as detailed in section 4.1.3 (Chapter 4) in order to identify what the corporate gaze focused on, as well as what it omitted. The selection of ads followed the criteria I also explained in section 4.3.1. Before focusing on this selection, I will summarize the main trends I found in my first analysis of a wider sample of MP and MT advertising pieces, which I have organized according to the following differences and similarities:

a) Differences between MP and MT in the kind of written information that is emphasized: concrete data (MP) vs. abstract values (MT)

b) Differences between MP and MT in the visual representation of co-presence: hard (MP) vs. soft (MT)

c) Similarities in MP and MT ads in the use of national cues

d) Similarities in the display of visual information: absence of the material basis of the services (the MP, the money) and predominance of emotions

e) Similar focus on family relationships and extensive use of female characters and children

f) Similar activation of migrants and passivation of non-migrants

g) Similar focus on ritual and routine communication, absence of crisis communication

h) Similar representation of migrant connectivity in terms of the spatiotemporal dimensions of globalisation (extensity, intensity, velocity and impact)

a) Differences in the kind of written information that is emphasized: concrete data (MP) vs. abstract values (MT)

MP and MT ads promote very different actions: to make international calls from the MP and to send money. Although the visual resources do not usually represent these actions explicitly, they are referred to in the written texts through the verbs “call”, “talk”, “listen”, “top-up”, “send” or “transfer”, but not always in the imperative form that characterizes much of advertising as a genre. Apart from these obvious differences derived from the specificities of each service, MPs and MTs ads rely on different kinds of information. The former give explicit information on call rates, discounts and special offers, emphasizing their low-cost

rationale. On the contrary, the latter rarely make costs explicit and tend to highlight more abstract values such as “safety”, “tranquillity”, “easiness” and “speed”.

b) Differences in the visual representation of co-presence: hard co-presence (MP) vs. soft co-presence (MT)

Visually, co-presence is realized through different semiotic resources. I identify at least two different strategies I have called 'hard' and 'soft' co-presence, depending on how explicitly the representation abolishes the physical distance between characters. *Hard co-presence* is exemplified in ads that depict migrants and non-migrants together in the same spatiotemporal frame, where distance is completely absent from the representation. It is a visual resource extensively used in MP ads, since mediated voice communication tends to convey feelings of closeness among physically distant users(Katz & Aakhus, 2002; Licoppe, 2004; Ling, 2004). Figures 6.1 and 6.2 below constitutes an example of hard co-presence.

Figure 6.1. Example of hard co-presence, by Orbitel. Source: photograph of billboard taken in a metrc station, Barcelona, 2010.

Figure 6.2. Example of hard co-presence, by Ria. Source: photograph taken in a *locutorio*, Barcelona, 2010.

In MT ads there are some cases of hard co-presence but the most common strategy is based on *soft co-presence* in which distance is acknowledged in some way. In some cases, the distant characters are both visible in the ad but there are compositional elements in the image that emphasize their physical separation. Figure 6.3 portrays two characters, a son and his old mother, divided by a vertical line which frames them in different spatial locations, as the two backgrounds suggest. This piece in particular is also interesting because it exemplifies how overlapped both services are in the everyday experiences of transnational families, since people might make phone calls to inform about the tracking number to collect a transfer, ask for money and decide on its uses. On the right of the image viewers can read their dialogue: "Mother, I'm sending you some money". "Thanks son, do it through *Mande* that it is closer and easier".

Figure 6.3. Example of soft co-presence, by Ria. Source: Latino magazine No.320 (2/12/2011).

Another kind of soft representation of co-presence is found in the WU Yes! Campaign. Its general layout consists in overlapping the photograph of a character in one location (typically the origin locale) with a written text that is enunciated by a character in another place (typically the destination locale). Distance is suggested in the gap between the visual and the written text, as I will show in the analysis of specific WU ads below.

c) Similarities in the use of national cues

Together with the portrayal of characters with phenotypes associated with specific regions, ethnic advertising tends to include elements of the countries of origin, like national colors, flags and official languages. These markers of difference aim to call specific consumers' attention through the provision of symbols which are familiar to them. Thus corporations adapt their global commercial messages to the local settings in which they operate, taking into account the profile of different migratory flows. According to the Spanish National Statistics Institute, immigrants from Mali, Senegal and Pakistan present high rates of male population, while immigration from Latin American countries such as Bolivia and Ecuador presents high rates of women, many of whom have left their children at origin

societies. Ads tell us important facts about the new faces of migration in Spain: Latin American women with individual migrant projects raising children who stay at home societies; young African men who send money to their family back home. The languages of the messages are also indicative of the national background of the target public; it is not rare to find ads in French, English and Arabic in downtown Barcelona.

d) Similarities in the display of visual information: absence of the material basis of the services (the MP, money) and predominance of emotions

At the visual level, the actions promoted in the written text are rarely depicted explicitly in the images, more focused on emotions and feelings through the portrayal of represented characters in caring gestures, independently of what service is being advertised. There are some exceptions, such as images of people having a MP conversation or a SIM card; some MT ads include the image of the core of their business: notes and coins. This responds to a wider trend in the evolution of advertising as a genre. In the early 20th century, the first ads displayed a "product-information format" (Leiss et al., 1997, p.236) in which "the product is the centre of attention and (…) little reference is made to the user or the context of use of the product, except for instructions or special offers" (1997, p.240).

> Many contemporary ads have evolved into a "personalized format (…) [in which] the dimensions of meaning that connect people and products are affective rather than associative or pragmatic. The emotions that engage people in human intercourse (love, anxiety, pride, belonging, friendship) also engage them with products" (Leiss et al., 1997, p. 251).

e) Similar focus on family relationships and extensive use of female characters and children

The emotional orientation of ads involves focusing on affective relationships, usually drawing on the images of women, children and the family "both as a target for marketing activities and as a unit of consumption" (O'Malley & Prothero, 2006). In the context of migratory projects, in which some family members move far away from origin societies while others stay, the maintenance of family relationships at a distance constitutes a powerful example of the strength of love to survive despite harsh conditions. As shown in Figure 6.4

below, there are also advertising pieces of MP and MT services that portray a single represented character with no references to the family, but just to their countries of origin. However, the more complex ads focus on the transnational family and locate such services as crucial tools for caregiving at a distance.

Figure 6.4. Web advertisement by Lycamobile. Source: retrieved from www.lycamobile.es on 15/05/2012

Care is epitomized in a strong presence of children and female characters in well-defined roles: carers and those cared for. Female characters have a stronger presence than male ones: there are more girls and more women of all ages. According to the role portrayed, these women might convey different degrees of agency. Apart from the traditional portrayal of mothers hugging their children, the ads confront us with transnational motherhood, defined by Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) as new "organizational arrangements, meanings, and priorities of motherhood" (1997, p. 548). The word "mother" is written in two of the ads in Figures 6.2 and 6.3, to make explicit the relationship between the represented characters. In other ads, this is expressed visually through photographs in which hugs prevail as the "vector" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006) of the action in a protective, caring gesture. Such gestures repeat in Figures 6.6, 6.11 and 6.20 below, in which elderly women, probably grandmothers, take care of young girls.

Images of lonely children, with either smiling or serious faces, work towards engaging viewers in taking some action, as shown in Figures 6.14, 6.18 and 6.19. Children might also appear together with adults who hug them in protective gestures. The adults shown hugging children are mostly women who, according to the written text or their inferred age, can be interpreted as mothers and grandmothers. This is not a minor distinction, since each of them represents a different spatial location and caring role in the context of

transnational families. For instance, migrant women with children tend to leave them in origin societies with other non-migrant women such as grandmothers, relatives or neighbours, in what Parreñas has called the "international division of reproductive labor" (2000).

f) Similar activation of migrants and passivation of non-migrants

In both MP and MT ads there is a strong bias towards the portrayal of migrants as having high degrees of agency, being able to engage in actions that help their passively represented non-migrant beloved ones, be them children, partners or parents. The passive non-migrant is highly feminized: a passive parent is usually a mother (Figure 6.3 above) and the passive partner is a wife (e.g. Figure 6.21). Even if grandmothers may be actively engaged in looking after children, they are portrayed in the passive role of those who need and expect migrants´ help, be it emotional or financial support. These representations draw on universal values attached to childhood and the elderly across several cultures, namely innocence, fragility and dependency. By highlighting these characteristics, advertisements continuously remind migrants that they have obligations toward non-migrant family members in origin societies, and that they are responsible for their wellbeing. Moreover, the stereotype of the passive non-migrant re/produces the idea that transnational care giving is a one way process instead of flowing in multiple directions, as it has been acknowledged by the literature on transnational families (Baldassar, 2007; Merla, 2010).

g) focus on ritual and routine communication, absence of crisis communication

Following Baldassar's (2007) distinction between three different communication patterns involved in transnational caregiving, the analyzed ads tend to focus only on the bright side ("routine" and "ritual"), leaving aside "crisis", which might involve problematic or even tragic situations. This relates to a broader trend in the advertising genre which continuously aestheticizes its objects of representation (Haug, 1986) in order to sell more.

h) Similar representation of migrant connectivity in terms of the spatiotemporal dimensions of globalisation

With more or less emphasis, both MP and MT companies tend to emphasize transnational family communication (TFC) which, as mentioned above, is always represented as being initiated by migrants in unidirectional ways (extensity). People are portrayed as being always reachable, 24 hours, seven days of the week, even if the companies set different tariffs for different times of the day (intensity). In particular MT companies highlight velocity in their deliveries, while MP services refer to immediate communication. This promotes feelings of proximity despite geographical distances (impact).

Other differences and similarities depend on the advertising campaign under analysis. Next sections will look specifically at the cases of Lebara and WU, analysing eight outdoor ads of each company, some of which were also used in the joint reading with migrant interviewees Most of them had a DIN A3 and DIN A1 format. Some common trends in these particular ads are close-up photographs of one or a few represented characters in blurred, almost unidentifiable backgrounds. Abound are smiles and hugs, as well as looks towards potential viewers. Following Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), this carries strong conceptual and interactive meanings. Conceptually, looks convey no action (there is no vector) but high symbolism. Interactively, it creates a high degree of intimacy and engagements with viewers who become acknowledged and called into an imaginary relationship with the represented participant who demands some action (make a phone call or send some money). Many analyzed ads portray represented characters who are not performing any specific action as actors: they are "carriers of meaning" so the focus is not on what they do, but on "*what they are* (…) [through] salient objects, symbolisms, poses, etc". (Machin, 2007, p.127).

6.1. Blue promises of 24/7[120] voice communication: the Lebara case

In this section I analyze eight ads of the Lebara Mobile company displayed in metro stations in Barcelona at two different moments of the fieldwork, when I photographed four ads in 2010 and four in 2011. The same images were in poster size at the points of sale (mainly *locutorios*) and in billboards at metro stations.

[120] This means 24 hours a day, seven days of the week.

At the compositional level, these ads share a similar design, with three horizontally defined areas: on the top, there is always the brand name and logo, followed by a catchy phrase that highlights cheap international call rates; at the centre or left bottom corner there is a photograph of migrant characters. At the very bottom of the image there is information on the kind of service ("prepaid mobile operator" and "Pay as you go SIM") next to the image of a SIM card, the website of the company, the customer service helpline and a large list of points of sale (e.g. banks, supermarkets and post offices). On the right bottom corner, there is always a short description of the benefits of having Lebara, including free MP calls between the company customers. This is the only reference to national call rates made in the ads and its small font suggests their secondary place in the business model of the company, more interested in international traffic. Most ads have references to specific regions and countries of origin of the migrants who get the cheapest call rates.

Other important information for customers is displayed in even smaller, hardly visible font, namely the set-up call costs, the specific times to enjoy the announced discounts and their expiration dates. Indeed most special offers have a deadline after which users cannot enjoy the promised benefits. Companies need customers to make intense use of their services at specific time periods according to particular commercial agreements and in response to competing offers that are continuously launched by other service providers. This contradicts the apparent "transparency" of prices promised in red badges displayed as added stickers in the ads, which reads "final prices! VAT included" (Figure 6.6) or "no hidden charges" (Figure 6.8). As we will see in Chapter 8, the company politics of prices affects people´s patterns of connectivity, in particular their extensity (who they call and where they are) and intensity (how often they can call and at which cost).

The corporate blue color predominates in all the ads, imprinting the brand identity and simulating an infinite sky that connotes a sense of freedom surrounding always smiling migrants, usually located in unknown settings. This serves as the background for the written information that can take up to two thirds of the image. Except from two ad pieces (6.5 and 6.8), the ads are highly interactive, with the represented characters looking directly at potential viewers, activating a basic process of identification between viewers and characters,

engaging the former into an imaginary relationship that demand them to take some action, as suggested by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006).

Six out of the eight Lebara ads analyzed represent, in one way or another, the connectivity needs of transnational migrant parents who raise their non-migrant children at a distance. L-1 (Fig.6.5) and L-2 (6.6) where launched together in 2010 and address the role of transnational parenthood through different strategies.

Ad L-1: "Hello mum. Hello sweetie"

Figure 6.5. Advertising poster L-1 with mum and daughter, by Lebara. Source: *locutorio* in Barcelona, 2010.

L-1 displays a little girl who hugs and smiles at an also smiling young woman, in a background of plain countryside. Their physical appearance suggests their foreign origin: curly hair and light brown skin. As viewers, we realize that the characters have a mother-daughter relationship thanks to the written text on the right side: “Hi mum. Hi sweetie”. Each phrase has a different typography in handwriting style, with “Hi mum” in a childish one. In the context of the advertised service, these phrases connote a MP conversation between two distant characters. On the one hand, the written text complements the visual information. On the other hand, the visual text opposes it by showing characters physically together in a metaphor of closeness that constitutes a good example of what I earlier referred to as “hard co-presence”. This suggests a collapse of the Cartesian coordinates of time and space, emphasizing the idea of instant and continuous communication. This is reinforced by the reference to “24 hour” availability in the heading of the ad that reads “Cheaper international calls by Lebara 24 hours (a day) from your mobile!”. What Lebara tells viewers is that “Mum” is calling “sweetie” from abroad, enjoying cheap prices that allow them to hold regular and fluent communication. Mother and daughter cope with physical distance in this kind of technologically mediated presence, in which “virtual connectedness (…) might substitute for physical co-presence” (Laurier and Licoppe as cited in Wilding, 2006, p.132), or paraphrasing Gergen (2002), allows for the mother's “present absence”. Moreover, the characters´ lack of visual contact with potential viewers gives a sense of “virtual intimacy” (Wilding 2006) to their interaction across distances: viewers are not participants but witnesses of their happiness. Thus the ads emphasizes that MP calls can recreate the good moments shared together through voice communication. There are no references to feelings of sadness whatsoever: it is an absolute celebration of closeness.

The ad highlights particular countries which are benefitted with cheap international call rates from Spain to both landline and mobile phones in Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Morocco, Peru and Rumania, in accordance with the most affluent migrant populations in Spain. Ad L-2, however, presents this information according to broader geolocations, setting call rates for Asia, Maghreb, Latin America and Eastern Europe.

Ad L-2: Granny with girls

Figure 6.6. Advertising poster L-2 with granny and two girls, by Lebara. Source: photograph taken in a *locutorio* in Barcelona, 2010.

The L-2 ad portrays an old woman hugging two young girls who turn inwards to hug her. The three of them are smiling and looking straight towards the viewer, as if expecting something. Far in the background there are apartment blocks that suggest an urban setting. At the representational level, the narrative structure is given by two vectors: the old woman´s hug, whose hands wrap the little girls in a protective gesture, and their looks directed towards viewers, including a visually omitted character that might be their relative in Spain,

probably one or both their parents. One way of interpreting this ad is to think of these characters as being in the origin society, the girls´ mother migrated to Spain, left them with their grandmother and now needs to call them regularly to perform transnational motherhood. This was indeed the dominant reading (the one in compliance with the company´s aim), as I could confirm in the focused interview I held with one company spokesperson, who explained :

> It aims to reflect [the situation of] many mothers who come here to work and leave their children there with their grandmother, so these mothers, these women, are the ones who make more telephone calls abroad to know how their children are, to talk with their own mother about the little ones and so on.

L-3: "We take you home"

Migratory contexts are complex and neither the polysemic nature of visual texts nor the simplification intrinsic to the advertising genre can account for the different and multiple locations migrants inhabit. In this context, a contested concept of migrant experiences is "home", especially when conflated with country of origin, as it is the case in ad L-3. This was designed to disseminate a raffle for Lebara customers,[121] which prize was announced with the phrase "we take you home" in reference to a ticket to travel to the winners' country of origin, as shown in Figure 6.7. The word "home" is often ambiguous in migrant contexts because it can refer to multiple locations which span across societies of origin and destination. This might depend on different experiences marked by the amount of time spent in the arrival society, the aim of the migratory projects (e.g. settlement or temporary work), the level of attachment to the origin society, among other factors. Moreover, reaffirmations of home usually draw on a dichotomous logic to differentiate it from an outside home. According to feminist scholar Sara Ahmed, this is very problematic because the positive experiences of being away from home would construct a fetishized identity "detached from the particularity of places" and ignorant of "the complex and contingent social relationships of antagonism which grant some subjects the ability to move freely at the expense of others" (Ahmed, 1999,

[121] The same event is promoted in the online infomercial (text L-3) analyzed in Chapter 5.

p.338). An alternative would be to think of home in terms of multiplicity (many homes), strangeness within (not unmistakeable familiar), interval (not a destiny but the journey between locations), productive and active (we inhabit it as much as it inhabits us). This shift in the conceptualization of home allows us to do away with the idea that migrants share a common identity for being away from "home".

Figure 6.7. Advertising poster L-3 with travelling man and boy, by Lebara. Source: photograph taken in a *locutorio*, Barcelona, 2010.

In the L-3 ad, however, home is equated with country of origin. photograph shows a man and a boy hugging each other, smiling and looking directly at the viewer. They are in an unknown setting flooded by the corporate blue of the sky, surrounded by two pieces of luggage which symbolize long travelling. The image suggests the instant of a traveller´s arrival and the desired encounter between two beloved ones – probably father and son – after some time of separation. The text on the right bottom corner briefly explains the conditions to participate in the raffle:

> You *only* have to" (*emphasis added*) register in the Lebara website and "make at least one international call every week between 22nd May and 5th June. The more mobile phone calls you make, the more possibilities you have to win. Each call is taken into account! Participate now and fly to your country!

The use of the adverb "only" dismisses the importance of the requirements of participation, as if they were very easy to fulfil. However, this might not be the case for many people who are not familiar with the internet to register in the company website. Moreover, the text encourages users to make as many MP calls as possible to increase the chances of winning, promoting a kind of "connected presence" (Licoppe, 2004) based on "short, frequent calls, the content of which is sometimes secondary to the fact of calling" (Licoppe, 2004, p. 141). But TFC is traversed by multiple emotional complexities that might reduce the desire to call regularly if, for example, people feel sad or have bad news they prefer not to share with their non-migrant relatives to avoid worrying them, as some interviewees expressed in Chapter 8. No matter how cheap call rates might be!

Ad L-4: Pakistan

Ad L-4 (Figure 6.8) has a very specific target consumer, as shown in the large size word at the top central part of the image, "Pakistan": it addresses Pakistani people living in Spain, a group which numeric importance has recently increased, particularly in Barcelona and surroundings. The text is written in English, which together with Urdu, is one of the country's national languages. Smaller letters explain the prices and expiration date of this special offer launched for the Ramadan, an annual celebration in the Islamic calendar when families get together or intensify their transnational communication if they are far away.

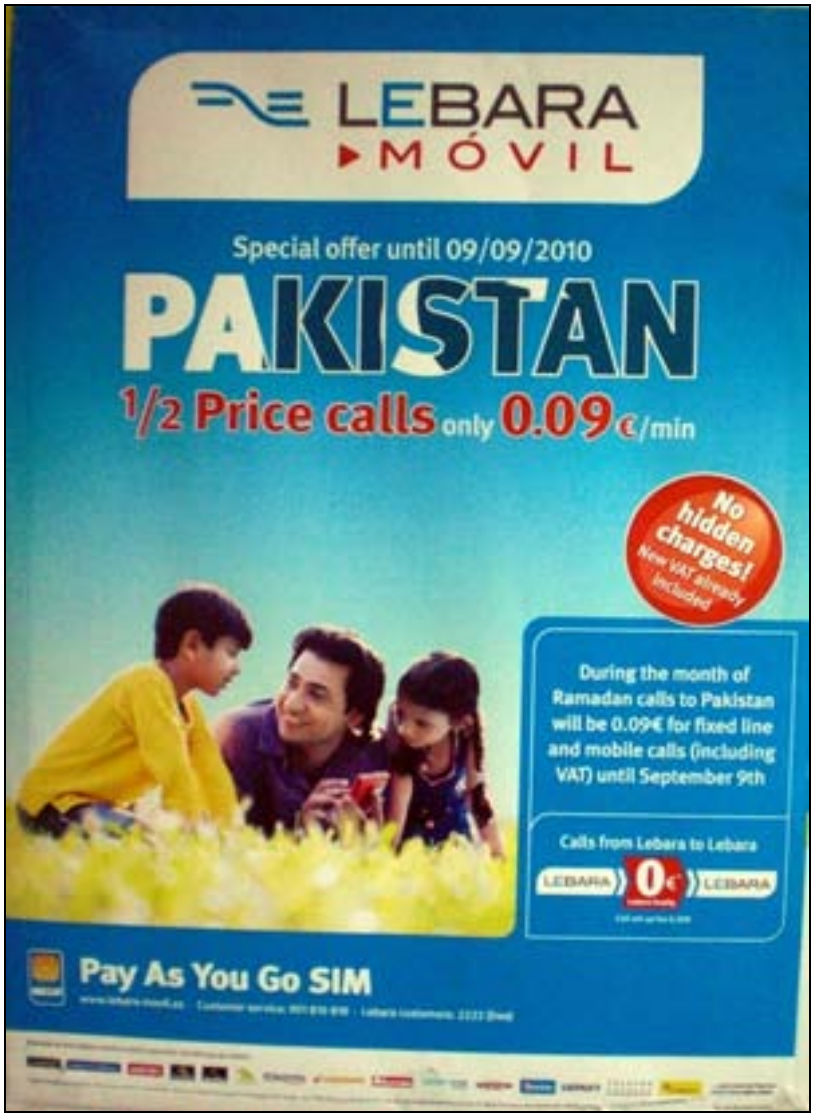


Figure 6.8. Advertising poster L-4, Pakistani man and children, by Lebara. Source: photograph taken in a *locutorio*, Barcelona, 2010.

The photograph portrays three characters lying on a yellowish field: a young man surrounded by a little boy and girl. Unlike other ads where no device is shown, he is holding a smart phone while he smiles at the boy on his right side. The girl is looking at the smart phone and seems to be left aside of the complicity that male characters share, probably father and son. This ad has low interactivity through the absence of visual contact with viewers, who remain as mere witnesses of the family portrait, a feeling that is reinforced by the distant angle of the photo shot. Like in previous analyzed ad pieces, this is an example of hard co-presence in which potentially distant beloved ones are displayed as sharing the same physical

space. Indeed the Pakistani migrant flows to Catalonia are composed mainly by young men (IDESCAT, 2011a) who might have left their family in their country of origin.

A round red text box on the right central part of the image informs that the call rate advertised is a final price, with the phrase "New VAT already included", referring to the tax increases imposed by the Spanish government since July 2010. This shows a rapid reaction from the company to the changes that occur in the local context, marked by a highly competitive marketplace. Moreover, it implicitly assumes customers are particularly well informed about special offers and changes in the prices, mainly due to their close links to the business of *locutorios,* one of the strongest Pakistani ethnic enclaves in Catalonia.

Ad L-5: Ecuadorian woman

This Ad L-5, together with the others that follow in the analysis (L-6, L-7 and L-8) present a slightly different layout that corresponds to a campaign launched in 2011 in order to present the new brand logo. Unlike the ads I analyzed previously, they all have a full sized colorful photograph that covers almost the whole surface, and little written information. This can be interpreted as a strategic move the company did to reposition its brand value after being four years in the Spanish market. Now that it is better known by the target customers, it can rely more on visual elements with highly emotional meanings, than on practical written information. Despite this shift in the design, ads continue to highlight cheap prices and emphasize the company's continuous efforts towards offering the best call rates, as summarized in Figure 6.9: "Now cheaper prices than ever!". The bottom third of the ad is covered by a text box with details on tariffs to call landline and mobile phones, next to an Ecuadorian flag and the name of the country again, this time in smaller font size. The ad presents a "before and after" comparison of prices, in which the old ones appear crossed out next to the newer, cheaper ones. This visual resource emphasizes the idea that prices continue to drop.

Figure 6.9. Advertising poster L-5 with Ecuadorian woman, by Lebara.
Source: photograph taken in a *locutorio*, Barcelona, 2011.

Besides prices, in this ad viewers might be first attracted by the young smiling woman who looks directly at them. She wears eye-catching earrings and a necklace that were identified by some Ecuadorian interviewees as typical from their country highlands. At the top central area, the name of the target country in big capital letters contrasts the very small font used to provide key information on costs. A quick reading might suggest phone calls cost just 0,12 € but this is the minimum price per minute. Although the girl is not performing an explicit action (apart from looking at viewers), her jewellery does perform a kind of action as an important "carrier of meaning" (Machin, 2007, p.127) of this specific region´s culture with which others can identify.

Ad L-6: worker man

In a similar layout, ad L-6 presents a photograph of a smiling adult man looking directly at viewers. Although in the image he is not performing a particular activity, his clothes and the setting suggest that he has been photographed at his workplace. This conveys a sense of realism to the situation, in which the camera seems to have naturally interrupted the man's routine. He is wearing a cap and a white uniform, like another man behind him who appears in a blurred background of what seems to be a kitchen or a bakery. This is suggested by the white clothes, usually wore in places where food is prepared. At the conceptual level, their uniforms are symbols of effort and dedication, connoting economic stability.

Figure 6.10. Advertising poster L-6 with worker man, by Lebara.

Source: photograph taken in a *locutorio*, Barcelona, 2011.

On the man´s right, there is a small text box: "Transparent prices! VAT already included", indirectly promising suspicious or distracted customers that there will not be disgusting surprises in the final call rates. Unlike previous ads, this one lacks a specific reference to foreign customers' country or region of origin. However, the phenotype of the man, with a thin moustache, dark hair and light brown skin might suggest a Latin American origin.

The continuous references to prices demonstrate the company's empathy with low-income customers and the key element in their business model: highly competitive prices. On the top centre of the ad, between the man´s head and the brand name and logo, it reads the special offer of the moment: "This autumn, all top ups have extra minutes for free!" The bottom of the image provides detailed information on this statement, with text boxes that summarizes the conveniences of becoming a Lebara customer, like paying a minimum of "0,05€" per minute for international calls and getting credit for free depending on your top-up, as shown in the table in the larger central text box. The message is that the more you top-up, the more free credit you get. In very small size font there is the expiration date of this special offer. The text box on the right reminds customers that mobile phone calls between Lebara users are (almost) free, like in other analyzed texts. Unlike other ads, this one includes the expression "Lebara Family" as its heading. As mentioned in the analysis of online corporate discourses above, the metaphor of the company as a family is widespread in the corporate world and has been analyzed as a disciplining tool towards employees (Casey, 1999). In this context of consumer advertising, however, it acquires other connotations related to the company as part of the consumers´ ideal family, being close, beloved and caring.

Ad L-7: Granny and one girl

Love, closeness and care also traverse Ad L-7 (Figure 6.11), which shows the same characters represented in ad L-2 but in a different way. Instead of two girls, there is only one and the photo is much bigger than in the previous ad. This suggests a similar interpretation of

the two ads around the topic of transnational motherhood and the international organisation of care work, in which grandmothers and other women in the community of origin look after migrant women's children. In a close-up shot, the girl intensively hugs and kisses the grandmother who laughs happily at the viewers. Unlike ad L-2, in which the grandmother's arms worked as the vector of the action by surrounding the girls in a protective way, this time only the girl's arms are visible around the old woman's neck, in a gesture that can be interpreted as deep love but also gratitude for being `like a mother´ for her, while her own is working abroad.

Figure 6.11. Advertising poster L-7 , with granny and girl, by Lebara.
Source: photograph taken in a metro station, Barcelona, 2011.

Above the image it reads the phrase "Cheaper international calls from your mobile!", enticing the absent mother in Spain to call her daughter and granny. At the bottom, a blue

text box includes the expiration date of the special offer, written in an almost illegible small font size. This contrasts the big font size of "1 eurocent", the price per minute the company offers in calls to a list of countries illustrated by their national flags and names: Brazil, Chile, China, Morocco, Mexico, Nigeria, Poland, Romania and Venezuela. On the right text box the company promises to give 10€ credit for free with every 20€ top-up, indirectly stimulating customers to increase their telecommunication expenses.

Ad L-8: "mother and son"

"1 eurocent" is also the attractive call rate advertised in this image, in even bigger font size than the previous ad. It shows a close-up frame of a woman and boy hugging, smiling and looking at the viewers.

Figure 6.12. Advertising poster L-8 with mother and boy, by Lebara. Source: photograph taken in a *locutorio*, Madrid, 2011.

Their features fit with the stereotype for people of Latin American origin: dark hair, light brown skin and full lips. They might be mother and son, following patterns of transnational motherhood performed by numerous Asian and Latin American women whose migratory projects involve leaving their children in origin societies. This ad is another example of hard co-presence, in which physically distant people are represented in the same spatio-temporal location, a feeling they might have, thanks to cheap regular communication.

The blurred background suggests a natural green environment, with trees and grass, but is not shown as relevant for the message the company aims to convey. Below the brand logo on top of the image we read: "Now 14 countries!", emphasizing that the company has increased the number of countries people can call for 1 eurocent . A text box located at the bottom of the image shows the flags and names of three of the countries which benefit from the cheapeast calls: Colombia, Morocco and Romania, three of the countries with more migrant affluence in Spain. Below this text box, in smaller font size it reads: "Up to 50% of the value of your top-ups FOR FREE. Cheaper international calls from your mobile". There is also an image of a SIM card and the company´s contact details. At the very bottom of the ad, an almost microscopic text explains key information for consumers: the date limit of the special offer, that the mentioned prices do not include VAT, that the special offer of 1 eurocent per minute is only valid for the first 15 minutes per call and a total amount of 500 minutes per month to call landline phones, as well as the countries included. As we will see in Chapter 8, many migrants interviewed complained about this kind of deceiving practices, in which companies did not make clear enough the terms and conditions of the services.

6.2. Yellow promises of safety: the Western Union case

In 2009, Western Union launched a worldwide advertising campaign under the title "Yes!" that broke away from previous campaigns in terms of aesthetics and design, thus also in the ways of addressing consumers. The new layout was based mainly on one big color image and almost no written text. Images were mainly photographs of one or a few individuals depicted in a close-up frame, in a portrait-like format that suggested intimacy and trust, in which the background setting was absent or blurred. As we will see, the general layout of the "Yes!" campaign includes a question written in standard typography on the top of the page that always gets an affirmative answer from the corporation: from the most

practical ones, “Can I send more paying less?” (Figure 6.21) to the more rhetorical ones, “Can I send love to Ecuador?” (Figure 6.16) or “Can I send them happiness?” (Figure 6.18). Somewhere between the question and the represented participant/s there is a “Yes!” answer in big yellow handwritten style with childish drawings of smiles, hearts and suns.

Represented characters are always smiling, although not always looking at the viewer, located in often unidentifiable settings composed of blurred light colors. The link between the question and the visually depicted character is not always clear: sometimes it seems to be formulated by a visually omitted participant (identified with the person who looks at the ad in Spain) who wonders about different issues related to the represented participant, presumably a family member who lives at the origin society. These are usually children, who carry the meaning of dependency, need of care and support in order to grow up healthy and develop all their abilities.

The questions involve a high degree of agency from the moment that they start with a “Can I…” expression, suggesting that it is a matter of the enunciator’s capabilities and/or resources. The overlapping of the represented participants in both societies of destination (question) and of origin (photo) echoes quotidian experiences in the network society, where distinctions between “here” and “there” do not disappear but become blurred. As viewers, we become aware of the distance that separates question-text and answer-image thanks to the verbs employed in the questioning: “envoyer”, “transfer”, and “enviar”, which imply a point of departure of the transfer and another of arrival.

The ambiguity of the image-text relationship, the almost absence of national cues, as well as a minimal use of text – limited to the question, answer and corporate logo – detaches the campaign from traditional ethnic advertising that, at least in Spain, has been very much based on an abundance of information, including prices and special offers, national cues and a rather conservative layout in terms of creativity, originality and design . These conservative characteristics were present in WU ads before the “Yes!” campaign, as shown in Figure 6.13, in which national flags and names of the countries abound. In those ads, individual characters predominated over references to the transnational family, and exaggerated facial expressions (a big smiling mouth, a raised fist, wide open eyes, etc.) of people in deep thought about how

to maximize their savings, surprised at the low rates, or passionate about their country, predominated over pleasant smiles and quiet attitudes.

Figure 6.13. WU campaign before "Yes!". Source: *locutorio* in Barcelona, 2010.

The next pages will offer detailed analysis of the advertising pieces purposively selected to be commented upon by the Ecuadorian and Moroccan interviewees that collaborated with the current research project.

Ad WU-1: a Moroccan child

Figure 6.14. Advertising poster WU-1 with a Moroccan child. Source: Western Union headquarters in Madrid, 2011.

As viewers, our attention is grabbed by the deep look of a child whose close-up photo stands at the centre of ad WU-1, shown in Figure 6.14. She stares directly at us with an expression of nostalgia, or even sadness, in her half covered face. We cannot realize if she is smiling or serious because a big yellow daisy keeps her mouth out of sight in a mysterious fashion. Flowers connote pleasant feelings related to nature, to the colorful and freshness of warm days, as well as beauty and innocence. These positive meanings work in tension with the girls' sad look and constitute the salient elements of the image.

The written text that frames the photograph reads “With Western Union send much more to your [beloved] ones”. The imperative form of the verb “send” interpellates the girl's close relative who looks at the ad in Spain and who is in charge of looking for her wellbeing. This viewer could be a father, mother, sister or brother of a girl and what the company tells them is that in this relationship at a distance, love is not enough. The child in this ad piece is a good example of a “carrier of meaning” (Machin, 2007, p.127), since she is not performing a specific action except from looking at viewers in a demanding look, waiting for some action from them. She holds the attribute embedded in “a Western romantic idea of childhood and innocence” (Machin, 2007, p.128) and her presence stands for all the non-migrant children in Morocco whose migrant parents work in Spain and send remittances to cover the basic needs of their families in origin.

Below the girl, the text continues “Now Western Union decreases prices”, and in a smaller sized font “Send 250€ from Spain to Morocco for only”. In a big black font, it reads “5,50€”. The special offer is at the central bottom part of the image, on a background composed by the colors of the Spanish flag blurring from left to right into the Moroccan flag. This image implies closeness and a sense of brotherhood between countries which are represented at the same level, without distinctions of, for instance, first and third world, previous colonizer and colonized parties, in accordance with the corporate slogan located below : “Uniting people, creating possibilities”. This phrase identified a campaign globally launched in 2003. According to the president of Western Union, Christina Gold, in an interview published in the Denver Business Journal, the campaign had a clear consumer focus: “[it] relates to people on a more personal level (…) we understand that when

consumers use our services, it's about much more than sending or receiving money. It's about making a connection with a loved one" (Sweeney, 2003). Her words reflect the company´s shift from informative to emotional advertising and a profound awareness of the complex sensitive experience of being far away from your family.

Ad WU-2: "Look at the exchange rate!"

In order to perceive this shift more clearly, it is worth looking at the more informative layout of ad WU-2 in Figure 6.15, which corresponds to the campaign that WU launched before the more sophisticated "Yes!" one.

Figure 6.15. Advertising poster WU-2, "Look at the exchange rate!" Source: *locutorio* in Barcelona, 2010.

The top half of the image shows the photograph of a plump woman with a rounded face framed by dark straight hair. Her Latin American origins are confirmed by a badge with the Ecuadorian national flag in the upper right corner, which addresses Ecuadorians in Spain. Its bright colors contrast with her black and white image in an empty background setting; she could be anywhere. Her face expression with wide open eyes and smile show excitement, while her left hand points at a bunch of paper money she is holding in her right hand. The narrative structure is given by the vector of her pointing hand, which makes that the paper money acquires a particular salience in the composition, outstanding as the goal of her action. The notes are not Euros but dollars, the recently adopted official currency in Ecuador after the financial and political crisis of the 90s. This is usually an object of concern for Ecuadorian customers who, apart from accessing cheap transfer services do not want to lose their money with abusive exchange rates. Indeed, the economic benefits of the money transfer business are taken from this double charge. Dollar notes are the end point of the process that starts in Euros in Spain, so we can infer that the Ecuadorian woman is be the non-migrant relative who receives the money transfer and that her happiness is caused by the company's fair deal. Thus it crafts a touching message for customers in Spain, whose main reason for migrating is reflected by the ad: the well-being of relatives in societies of origin.

At the conceptual level, money is a symbolic attribute of economic wellbeing and progress that suggest many people's reasons to migrate and, at the same time, it makes explicit the materiality of the advertised service. The display of money is frequent in this year campaign but it is completely absent in the "Yes!" campaign, whose emphasis is exclusively on emotions and affects. On the contrary, this ad highlights practical information on the convenience of costs. "Look at the exchange rate!" and "Come here and check it yourself!" it reads below her photograph. The colloquial and familiar tone of her words reinforces the intimacy of the medium shot frame of her photograph. Like the previously described advertising piece, her gaze is directed towards the viewers, acknowledging them and engaging them in a demand for taking action. The use of imperative verbs ("look", "come", "check") reinforces the demand posited by her visual interpellation towards potential viewers.

The second half of the image is exclusively dedicated to written information: “New exchange rate for Ecuador. More competitive. Only 5,50€ for transfers up to 500€”. The country, visually present in the badge, is repeated in the written text. In a different typography that resembles a red inked stamp, it reads “more attractive”, in an oblique line that contrast with the horizontal layout of all the written text. The use of superlatives (“more”) as well as the modifier “only” and the adjective “new” points at the convenience of hiring the advertised services. In the bottom part of the ad there is the corporate logo with the text “money transfers”, next to the logo of the partner agency in Spain –Cambitur– and its contact details. The last line of text refers to the motto at that time: “Fast and safe international money transfer”, which reflects quite accurately people's concerns when they need to send their savings abroad.

Ad WU-3: “Can I send love to Ecuador?”

Figure 6.16. Advertising poster WU-3, “Can I send love to Ecuador?” Source: Western Union headquarters in Madrid, 2012.

Although it follows some common features of the “Yes!” campaign, advertising piece WU-3 (Figure 6.16) is exceptional for at least three reasons: first, it lacks a human actor, secondly, it explicitly addresses a national origin: Ecuador, and thirdly it has quite a lot of written information. In the upper left corner, a small badge displays the Ecuadorian national flag, next to a rhetorical question typical of the campaign. This one reads: “Can I send love to Ecuador?” on a background of intense sky blue that is part of a beautiful landscape of a field full of sunflowers. The sky occupies 4/5 of the image and integrates with the form of the “Yes!” answer, delineated in heart-shaped light clouds.

The compositional strength of this piece lays on its conceptual structure devoid of vectors and actions, but where symbolic attributes abound. They work subtlety through the connotations of happiness implicit in a shiny day in a natural environment. A key word floating like light clouds up in the blue sky connote several ideas, like “love is in the air” or that love can Ecuador as light as clouds, creating an overall feeling of daydreaming and imagination. The heart shape and the word “love” represent the positive feelings people have towards others as well as the strength and motivation these feelings give to make dreams true. These dreams of love constitute ideal elements because they are on the top part of the composition (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006), while the real elements are located at the bottom part, in this case the field of sunflowers, which bright colors convey positive meanings such as happiness and beauty. Between the sky and the field, the image of the Western Union Gold Card acquires salience and indirectly promises to mediate between dreams and achievements, making things easier to the “golden” loyal customers of the company. Abundant written information refers to the conveniences of acquiring it to get points and discounts (white and yellow font in the central left corner), as well as the cost of money transfers (red letters in the central right corner). At the very bottom of the ad there are the most real issues of the special offer, which paradoxically, is displayed in very small, almost unreadable text: the terms and conditions of the service offered, including expiration dates and the company´s contact details to get further information.

Ad WU-4: "Can I feel closer to them?"

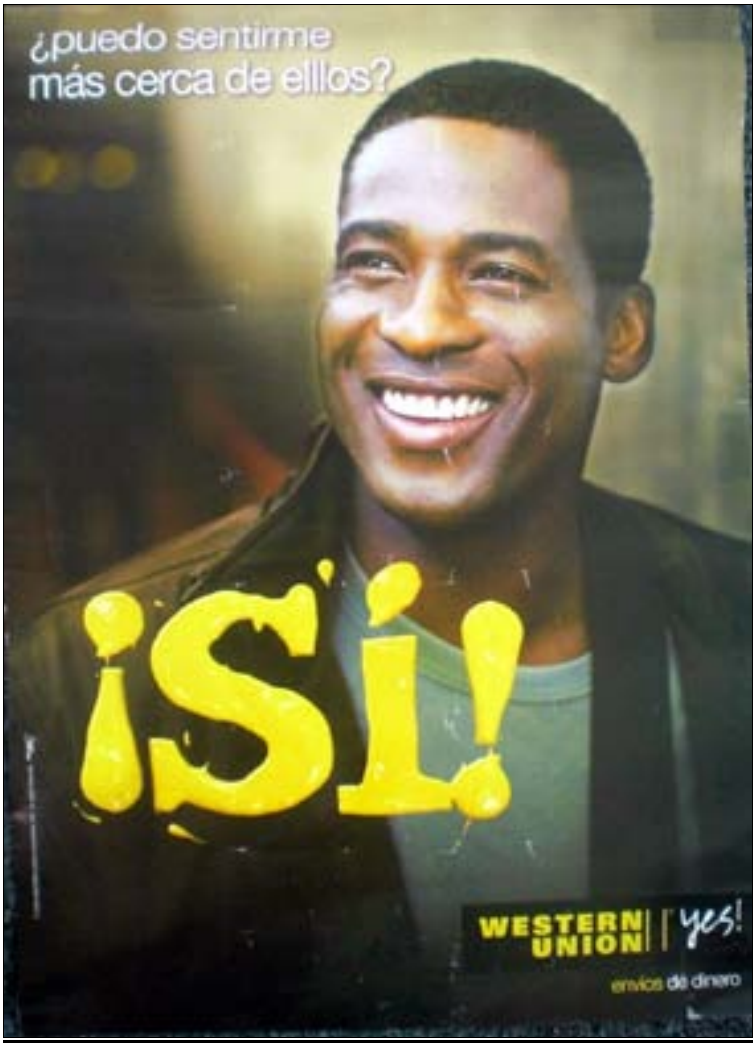


Figure 6.17. Advertising poster WU-4, "Can I feel closer to them?" Source: *locutorio* in Granada, Spain, 2010.

In the upper right corner of ad WU-4 (Figure 6.17), a question in white font almost gets lost in a blurred shiny background, hard to be figured out: "Can I feel closer to them?" A bright circle of light frames the head of a black young man, resembling saints' ancient portraits. His middle shot colorful photograph occupies the whole image and shows him smiling kindly while looking off-frame towards the left. His face is frontally deployed but he does not make visual contact with the viewer, who remains a witness of the inner world of his thoughts. According to the socio-semiotic analysis of images, this look conveys a particular meaning: "Because they are not individualized through the engagement of gaze, the viewer will associate with the theme of their feelings rather than their individual case" (Machin,

2007, p.112). As suggested by the written question, the represented participant´s thoughts are about being closer to his beloved ones. If we assume he is a migrant in Spain, the pronoun "them" refer to non-migrant relatives who might be physically far away, in his society of origin. As viewers, we keep wondering who, where and how they are... This lack of information conveys some mystery to the narrative structure of the image, engaging viewers in an active reading to complete the story. Despite this mystery, we are certain that they are very present in the man's mind and still reachable - and in this sense "closer"- thanks to WU services. The company provides a positive answer to his wondering: "Yes!" [you can be closer], depicted in big yellow paint-like font. The economy of written resources avoids references to the costs of services and special offers, limited to the corporate logo and the slogan "Money transfer", located at the bottom right corner.

Ad WU-5: "Can I send them happiness?"

Figure 6.18. Advertising poster WU-5, "Can I send them happiness?" Source: *locutorio* in Granada, Spain,

2010.

In WU-5 (Figure 6.18) there is a smiling girl of approximately eight years old with her arms curved towards her head, where she holds two thick books. She looks directly at viewers, engaging us into an imaginary relationship that demands some action, as suggested by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). In accordance with the authors´ social semiotic model (detailed in Chapter 4), the representational meaning of the books is given, at the conceptual level, by symbolic attributes of well-being, based on children's basic right to education in order to be literate and enjoy socio-economic success. The books also represent the material result of the money transfer that, in this case, acknowledges a situation in which remittances are used to pay for children's school materials.

On top of the books, in the upper left corner, we read a rhetorical question: "Can I send them happiness?" Unlike the previous ad, in which the depicted man seemed to formulate the question on top of his head, this ad piece seems to overlap the thoughts of some visually absent participant with the image of the girl who becomes the object of inquiry. She is one of the "them" in the question, the recipient of the "happiness" sent by someone in Spain who thinks of her. The girl´s smiling mouth is fresh and funny, with gapped teeth typical of her young age. Below her smile, a big yellow painted mouth frames the "Yes!" answer and reinforces the idea of smile equal happiness.

Ad WU-6: three girls in school uniforms

Like the ad I previously analyzed, the conceptual structure of ad WU-6 (Figure 6.19) also bases on children's education. Instead of one young girl, it portrays three teenagers wearing school uniforms in full size color. Two of them are portrayed in the front ground, very close to viewers, while the third girl has a more secondary role, staying behind and out of focus. Still, it is possible to distinguish that she holds a book or folder, presumably related to her studies. As I already mentioned, the objects related to school (uniforms and books) have high symbolic attributes and convey positive meanings related to the fulfilment of children's basic needs in the present in order to ensure them a prosperous future. The three girls smile and look directly at the viewer, activating basic processes of engagement and identification with specific profiles of immigrants in Spain.

Figure 6.19. Advertising poster WU-6, three girls in school uniform.
Source: metro station in Barcelona, 2012.

Although the ad is signed with the corporate logo of the "Yes!" campaign, there is neither a rhetorical question nor a big yellow answer as usual. Instead, the written text is reminiscent of previous campaigns, in the line of ad WU-2 (Fig. 6.15). A discreet thin yellow ribbon on top of the page says "Yes! New exchange rate for [money] transfers to Bolivia", with the name of the country in bigger size font, although no badge or flag with the national colors illustrates it. The ad probably targets transnational mothers, in according to official data that has reported highly percentages of Bolivian women migrating to Spain (INE, 2011b) many of whom have children living in their communities of origin. Below the photograph, a

thin red arrow works as a vector to highlight the imperative phrase that calls for action: "Come here and try it!"

Ad WU-7: "Can I give her a reason to smile?"

Figure 6.20. Advertising poster WU-7, "Can I give her a reason to smile?"
Source: *locutorio* in Granada, Spain, 2010.

Ad WU-7 in Figure 6.20 clearly follows the layout of the "Yes!" campaign (predominance of visual images, absence of written text, rhetorical question and positive yellow answer), except from two issues: it portrays two characters instead of the usual single one and it has an oblong frame, the vertical one used in most of the campaign. In the central part of the image, there is a woman smiling at an also smiling girl who rests on her chest. At the representational level, the action is given by two vectors: the woman´s arms hugging the girl and eyes looking at her. At the compositional level, the arms frame the girl's face in such a way that they take the shape of a house in which the girl takes refuge. On the left side of the image, viewers can see the girl's delicate fingers touching the arms that so comfortably wrap her, a gesture that can be interpreted as gratefulness but also as mutual care and support. The girl does not look at the woman or at the viewers, but off-frame. However, her pleasant facial expression can be interpreted as a reaction to the protective hug. This time, the question posited on top of the image is "Can I give her a reason to smile?" Part of the written text crosses over the woman´s face, underlining her secondary role, despite being the active participant, according to Kress and van Leewen´s (2006) theory of vectors.

The main participant and focus of attention is the girl, who is also the object of the question that gets the usual "Yes!" answer. The spot on the "i" has been decorated with sun rays in a childish style. The corporate logo is almost imperceptible, on the small bottom right corner, together with the motto "Money transfers" and the Spanish website of the company.

Like the previous ad piece, this one presents a visually omitted enunciator who asks the question about a distant beloved one, usually a child that needs protection, care, love, happiness and smiles. Viewers can get to know the child in need as she is deployed in a full size color photograph, where the viewer can engage with her through eye contact (demand) or by feeling empathy with a situation she might be familiar with: how to manage family relationships at a distance. The woman who holds the girl might be her mother, aunt, grandmother or neighbour who looks after the girl while the enunciator of the question is physically absent. However, his or her absence can be mitigated through "reasons to smile", or money transfers.

The carer in origin societies is usually a woman who is part of the family or very close to it, who sometimes gets paid or receives some money to cover the child´s basic needs. It reflects "the international division of reproductive labor" (Parreñas, 2000) in which migrant women look after other women´s children usually located in richer regions and immersed in formal economies, while also depending on other women from their families or communities to look after their own children. The transnational mother role is very present in the advertising of connectivity services, since children constitute a strong motivation to migrate in search of better opportunities as well as to keep in touch.

Ad WU-8: "Can I send more while paying less?"

Ad WU-8 (Figure 6.21) constitutes another variation of the "Yes!" campaign that could be seen in the streets of Barcelona. It is in French, addressed to people who are originally from Senegal and Mali, as the text make explicit at the bottom of the image. There are two represented participants: a young black woman holding a child who hugs her. Both smile but do not look at the viewers, who are not directly addressed but remain witnesses. The woman´s head is in an oblique angle and her eyes are almost closed, but she might be looking at the child in her arms, who looks off the frame towards the left. They are located in

an uncertain setting with a blurred window in the background. In the upper part of the image there is the question “Can I send more while paying less?” followed by a curvilinear and big yellow “Yes!” just on top of their heads. The letter “o” has a heart-shaped hole, reinforcing the loving connotations of sending money.

Figure 6.21. Advertising poster WU-8, “Can I send more while paying less?” Source: post office in Barcelona, 2010.

The photograph is framed by two horizontal yellow ribbons. The one on the top has been added afterwards and it is not part of the original ad piece. It has a big corporate logo in the middle, and on each corner there is a black open hand with the writing “Stop” in white typography on the palm. Curiously, it is similar to the symbology used by pro-migrant NGO *S.O.S. Racisme* in their campaigns against racist and xenophobic offenses, all of which can be indirectly interpreted as a political positioning on the company´s side. The yellow ribbon at

the bottom includes the website of the corporation, the motto “Money transfers” and the logo of the Spanish Postal Service (“Correos”) that works as agency of WU services.

This ad connote a situation of transnational parenthood at several levels. Like the previously described ad piece, it might represent a woman close to the family who looks after the child while the absent parents are working in Spain. However, the youth of the woman suggests a mother-child relationship. Considering that migrant flows from Africa, especially from Sub-Saharan countries such as Mali and Senegal are mainly masculinized (INE, 2011), the ad might be targeting men who migrated to Spain leaving their wives and children in origin societies. Many of these men arrive in very precarious conditions and cannot regularize their situation in Spain, suffering from socio-economic, political and cultural discrimination that prevent them from accessing basic rights, including legal jobs. They usually survive in the informal economy as street vendors and junkmen, earning little and discontinued amounts of money. For this reason, they can be easily considered a particularly price-sensitive segment of consumers and the ad emphasizes the cost of the remittances in an ad piece within the minimalist “Yes!” campaign.

6.3. Concluding Remarks

This second analytic chapter pointed at some trends in the commercial representation of immigrants. The socio-semiotic analysis of purposively selected ads evidenced how advertisement aestheticizes migration through close-up shots of smiling characters who take care of their beloved ones and look engagingly at viewers. In this sense, I found that this imagery offers a positive, almost empowering portrait of migrants, which could contribute to shape public sensitivities and to generate more empathic attitudes towards migrant people in the general population.

Despite the different services offered, it was surprising to notice numerous similarities between the narrative resources employed in both MP and MT ads, namely: the use of national cues; the predominance of emotions over the material basis of the services (the MP, the money) in the display of visual information; the focus on family relationships in which migrants were active agents (and non-migrants were usually passivized); the

extensive use of female characters and children, and the emphasis on ritual and routine communication (but absence of crisis communication). The ads clearly differed, however, regarding two issues: the display of written information and the visual representation of co-presence. First, MP ads had concrete data on costs, while MT ads drew on abstract values, such as safety and trust. Secondly, MP tended to display images of physically distant beloved ones as if they were close together, a visual metaphor I called "hard co-presence", in contraposition to the "soft co-presence" suggested in the MT ads analyzed, in which distant people thought of each other but remained at a distance.

The emphasis on international connectivity through the use of basic visual resources (national colors, shields and ethnic characters) constitutes a distinctive aspect of ethnic marketing and serves as a resource for the hyper-segmentation of the market. By reaffirming migrants' particular national identities, the brand attracts customers through highly emotive and affective meanings, comforting nostalgic souls and, at the same time, re-territorialising the mobile and fluid identities of people on the move, recreating "imagined communities" (Anderson, 1991).

Another important result of the visual analysis was the emphasis on prices and special offers, in particular in telecom ads. These highlighted the costs of calls in euros per minute to specific destinations. Other relevant information for users, however, was visually downplayed, namely, times of the day in which the offers are active, VAT and call set-up fees. This indicates the lack of transparency in the billing of services, questioning spokespersons' discourses about their concern for migrants' wellbeing. Profit-driven rationales seem to be the dominant note when millionaire business are at play.

In this commercial imagery, immigrants were usually portrayed in relation to distant family members who depend on them, suggesting an important breadwinner role. This was acknowledged by some company spokespersons who accounted for the proud and high self-esteem migrant people should have for making progress for their families, as we will see in the next chapter.

7. The Market Insiders' Perspective: Company Spokespersons

We understand that the basic need of the individual is to improve,
and in this world we live in, improve means to move in most of the cases.
Western Union spokesperson

The results of the focused interviews with MP and MT company spokespersons I present in this chapter seek to enrich the understanding of corporate discourses on migrant connectivity in general, and of the visual and textual analysis I presented in the previous chapters in particular. In all, I interviewed nine company spokespersons of two MT agencies (Western Union and MoneyGram), seven telecoms (major carriers Movistar, Orange, Vodafone and Yoigo; small carriers Lebara, Orbitel and MásMóvil) and one salesperson who re-sold minutes for international calls to *locutorios* in Catalonia (Teleminutos).

I argue that these practitioners' first-hand accounts help to unveil, at least partially, the backstage of business logics on various topics of interest for the current research, namely, the construction of migrants as customers and their connectivity needs, their importance for different business models, the commercial strategies to know, reach and persuade them and the challenges this all implies. I propose to develop a brief overview of their accounts on these issues, including those linked with the four dimensions of migrant interconnection –extensity, intensity, velocity and impact– and considering similarities and differences between the analyzed services.

Despite stark differences, there were important similarities in spokespersons' accounts, namely, the general description of each market and the prevailing criteria for user segmentation. Both MP and MT spokespersons described their respective markets as "dynamic", "complexly regulated" and "highly competitive". This commercial scenario, in which numerous operators continuously struggle to attract –and retain– customers, has resulted from the global process of liberalization of basic services, including the telecommunication and money transfer sectors. This process of opening the markets to new

agents first materialized in European Commission directives that then had an effect on the Spanish legislations, as I already mentioned in Chapter 3. Thus, big enterprises that enjoy oligopolistic advantages (Sabaté, 2010) complained, such as Movistar spokesperson who observed that "there are many competitors, very aggressive in their prices and offers". In turn, Western Union informant said that "Spain is one of the most complicated markets from the point of view of competition: there are about 88 brands", and added that between 2008 and 2011, the number of MT companies doubled. By contrast, newer and smaller enterprises celebrated free competition and prices drop. Bigger or smaller, they are all multinational endeavours which have adapted their global structures to the particularities of the territories in which they operate (infrastructures and regulations) and the target they seek, as reflected in the follwing passages:

> Each country is different; you reach the immigrant in a different way. In London, there are more immigrants from India, here there are more Latin immigrants (...) there is not the same schema that works for London, Spain and France. There are general standards, it is the same product, but with its own particularities (Lebara telecom spokesperson).
>
> The Western Union model is that in every market it is, it has a very locally adapted presence but always keeping multiculturalism (...) the Western Union brand adapts to the two needs: the local adaptation to the Spanish culture (...) but also the adaptation to our consumers' nationalities: a Chinese has nothing to do with a Moroccan (...) 70% of the WU staff until recently was foreign, normally from countries where we have our main customers, I mean, we had Argentineans, Senegalese, Moroccans, Romanians and Ukrainians (...) all the continents are reflected in the staff (Western Union informant).

Informants agreed that the segmentation of the migrant target followed a basic distinction between natives and foreigners, in which national origin and time of arrival emerged as key variables for explaining consumers' behaviours. I have identified two main reasons for this consense. Firstly, migrants' national origin or "corridors" constitute useful concepts to sell products based on strong affective links with distant beloved ones and "motherlands", as well as to explain customers' behaviours in terms of cultural differences. Secondly, the variable time of arrival conceives migration as a linear and progressive process in which it is possible to differentiate and predict the behaviours of basic users (generally just arrived migrants) from a (economically) well integrated one (settled).

7.1. The Millionaire Business of Selling Minutes

"This is a business of minutes, a stock market in which, instead of managing market values, we manage minutes [for telephone calls]", synthesized MVNO Orbitel spokesperson, which company has focused on the Latin American segment, first in the US and, more recently, in Spain.

As detailed in Chapter 3, the telecom market has Mobile Network Operators (MNO), or major carriers which own a radio spectrum license, and Mobile Virtual Network Operators (MVNO), or small carriers which pay MNO to use part of their radio spectrum. Each MVNO has a different and exclusive commercial agreement with the MNO that provides them the network, which determine the final price per minute to be paid by end users as well as the special offers available for different countries. MNO Movistar spokesperson explained that "most part of the cost of international calls is in what the operator at destiny charges you for ending that call". By buying big quantities of minutes at wholesale price, MP operators are able to reduce the final price and get a considerable profit that keeps the business going, as explained MVNO Orbitel spokesperson:

> I can buy millions of minutes to a telecom in Morocco which offers me a [special] price per minute, but before [that] I need a market study to tell me the profitability I can get and what target public I can reach (...) All the minutes' stock markets depend on various operators, minutes brokers, so our Wholesale Department –we have people in Spain, US and Colombia –negotiate with them and spend the whole day buying and selling minutes (...) for example, we buy to Vodafone [Spain] 10 million minutes to call to Colombia, let's say 1€ per minute. Then I sell it for 1,20€ to Lebara (...) and I have a repayment, a profit. You always try to buy it at a minimum [cost] and you can keep those minutes –you use them and also offer them [to your own customers at a very good rate– and you can sell the rest with an extra [cost] to obtain a profit. This business moves around 30 or 35 million euros annually (...) people don't know the numbers involved in the sale of a mobile card which costs 5€ or a scratch card which costs 6€; behind it, there is a million Euro business!

This millionaire business has attracted numerous operators, creating a particular commercial scenario in which MNO launch their own specific products for migrants and, at the same time, they provide infrastructure for MVNO competitors. One example is MNO

Vodafone which supports two MVNO competing for Latin American customers in Spain: Orbitel and Lebara. The former spokesperson exaplained:

> We have an agreement signed with Vodafone, so Vodafone can't improve our tariffs [to call] to Latin America. But I think they will have special conditions to offer to immigrants (...) they won't be out, somehow they will get their little benefit and they will want their piece of the cake, no doubt [about it]!

Indeed Vodafone does have at least two special offers for immigrants' international communication. One is called "My country" (*Mi País*) and offers cheaper tariffs than the average to call any mobile or landline number of one chosen country between 8pm and 8am (Vodafone, 2013a). The other one is "Happy Day", which offers a special price per minute to call abroad "to talk on the national celebration day (...) cheaper than the usual price. We've created this promotion because we think that it is a special day, in which new residents want to stay in touch with their country and their family", explained the company spokesperson.

MNO target the broad public with a great diversity of products (prepaid/postpaid subscriptions, voice and/or data packs, flat/semi-flat rates, etc.) some of which might be customised for different social groups with specifically defined needs (e.g. the youth, the disabled, the elderly and also immigrants). By contrast, MVNO business models base on market hyper segmentation and prepaid services especially attractive for price sensitive customers. Those focused on immigrant customers are known as ethnic MVNO.

An in-between business model is Yoigo's, which despite being a MNO, has followed "the positioning of a low-cost [company, offering] (...) quality at a low price", as told me the spokesperson in a brief telephonic interview. He also added that their target user "could be a student, an immigrant, a housewife or an executive manager who wants to spend less". Since its public launch in 2006, it presented itself as a low-cost service thought for "the youth, the elderly and immigrants" (El Mundo, 2006).

7.1.1. Constructing migrants' telecom needs

In spokespersons' accounts, I identified three main characteristics attributed to immigrants' telecommunication behaviour: international, controlled and mobile. *International* refers to the kind of voice communication most migrants regularly need in order to talk with family and friends abroad. *Controlled* involves their concern with expenses and their preference for cheap and prepaid services they feel they can control better, in accordance with their usually tight budgets. As the Lebara spokesperson summarized: "the immigrant looks at the cents". *Mobile* involves prioritizing MP above other telecom services such as landline telephones and fixed internet connections, which suppose monthly expenses in fixed addresses for people who might have irregular incomes and live in usually shared and changing places.

While for ethnic MVNO national origin is the main criteria of market segmentation, major carriers target wider audiences and follow diverse strategies in accordance with more complex organisational structures. I have identified two main positions they adopt to know and reach migrants: either they dedicate a specialized research team to them, or they consider the migrant user profile as transversal to various departments and areas. The former modality is found in Orange Spain and, some years ago, in Movistar. The latter one is present in Vodafone, Yoigo, and Orange headquarters outside Spain. Orange spokesperson explained that the complexities inherent to the Spanish migratory context demanded a specific strategy, different from other countries where the company does not have a clear segmentation of users according to national origin, but to their telecommunication behaviour (e.g. "heavy" and "basic" users). Other informants evidenced the efforts companies devote to turn basic users into heavy ones, as evidenced by Movistar spokesperson when he explained the role of the Customer Development Area for landline services where he worked:

> It aims to make customers use more our services, that they involve themselves with the company and consume more (...) My team does it for voice communication, another one focuses on broadband and another team promotes TV contents, applications and MP content.

He explained that in the case of immigrant customers, their aim is "to develop international traffic in both landline and MP" but that, in any case, for this major carrier immigrant customers were not a commercial priority. In their business model, international traffic was a minor part in comparison with "the big services: broadband internet, adsl,[122] a little less the TV, then mobile and mobile broadband, that is the core of Telefónica communication [services]", he said. Vodafone spokesperson said they "usually define segments of customers by nationality, call destinations and profile (young, worker, sensitive to new technologies, etc.)".

The reductionism of immigrants' telecom behaviour to their countries of origin helps companies to explain and predict their customers' needs and preferences in terms of cultural differences. MVNO Orbitel specializes in Latin Americans but would also like to reach Moroccan immigrants, both for their numeric importance and assumed consumer behaviour, as explained the spokesperson: "the Moroccan person does not use scratch cards, he talks directly through the mobile phone". Another informant from another telecom provider, however, said Moroccan customers tended to go to *locutorios* and liked having all the needed services concentrated there. These differences in the conceptualization of what Moroccans users need or prefer, evidences the fragility and relativity of the assumptions that circulate about users exclusively based on their national origin. In a similar direction, Orbitel informant speculated that

> When they emigrate, Asians and Africans are more independent from their country. They keep in touch but not so direct[ly]. Latinos, mainly in Spain, send almost all their money for their countries of origin (...) [Asians and Africans] think more about the future where they are, than in their roots.

[122] Adsl is the abbreviation for "asymmetric digital subscriber line. A mechanism by which broadband communication via the Internet can be made available via pre-existing telephone lines" (Daintith & Wright, 2008).

Despite some behavioural trends might be strongly influenced by cultural differences, I find interviewees' words too encompassing to grasp immigrants diversity in all its complexity, marked by heterogeneous social and individual realities that go far beyond national origin to cut across other key variables such as ethnic background, age, socio-economic class, gender roles and family context.

The aforementioned distinction between heavy and basic users aplied to the immigrant segment evidences some global structural inequalities that have turned national origin into a strong marker of difference in people's access to legal and economic rights and opportunities, conditioning incomes and their consequent budget allocation. This has influenced the constitution of a hierarchical regime of mobility that associates specific national origins with different socio-economic levels, which in turn serves to anticipate different communicative needs and consumer behaviours. Thus there are mobile people (wealthy Europeans, North-Americans, and some Asian origins as diverse as Japan, Russia or Arab Emirates) and economic immigrants who come from so called Third-World countries. This distinction is present in the following passages of the interviews with two spokespersons:

> Euro-residents use more products that allow them to call directly from their mobile phone line, for example with a postpaid module. They afford a higher cost in order to comfortably make international calls from their MP. However, we see Latin Americans use products such as scratch cards (Orange informant).

> We are not an operator for people who want to change their number much (to buy a SIM card, use the credits and buy another one) targets (...) [we target] smart buyers (...) in the segment of foreigners we focus on European expats (…) they are more loyal, have a stable consumption, [they commit] less fraud/non-payment, and value good service" (MásMóvil spokesperson)

MVNO MásMóvil operates only in Spain and has a "25% [of] non Spanish customers, mainly from Central and Northern Europe (…) but also from Latin destinations, Morocco and Rumania". Regarding differences in consumer behaviour between these origins, the company spokesperson underlined that "European residents tend to also use mobile internet", a clear sign of higher budget availability.

By contrast, the low-cost profile of most Latin American users was confirmed by a report Orbitel commissioned in 2010 to a specialized ethnic consultant in order to know the telecommunication habits of this collective in Spain. Based on 503 interviews, it concluded that more than 60% of these customers used prepaid services in their MP, that they used them mostly for national calls and preferred to call abroad from *locutorios* (Orbitel, 2009). As I will show in Chapter 7, many of the migrant interviewees I met fit this profile, both from Ecuadorian and Moroccan origin, what might indicate that national origin would not be taken as a single explanatory variable for people's consumer behaviour. This constitute one of many examples of why much market research, whose practitioners are conditioned by a combination of particular business goals, tight schedules and a set of biased cultural scripts, has failed to reflect immigrants' real needs. Another example was provided by Movistar spokesperson, who explained the failure of a low-end telecom solution they had developed for Latin American immigrants who shared accommodation and could not afford a standard internet connection:

> We designed a product called "shared line", it was simply a fixed line with a system of prepaid cards in which each one used her card and paid for it proportionally [to her consumption]. In the [market] research, this had a considerable success, it was welcomed. Then there was an [advertising] campaign, but it didn't work, it was abandoned because the line didn't sell (...) it is quite common this happens (...): things that seem ok in the research but then fail commercially.

Orange spokesperson observed that the volume of minutes in international calls from landlines has substantially decreased and concluded that "there are more offers for [calling abroad from] the MP". She concluded that "new residents are calling less each time; it can be because there are lower volumes of immigrants in Spain or because those immigrants have created their environment in Spain and make less international calls". Her account introduces two important elements in the process of understanding the corporate view of migrant connectivity. Firstly, the ways in which the industry shapes people's consumption and communication habits, which are changing from the landline to the MP thanks to the proliferation of special offers. Secondly, the importance of migrants' time of residence in Spain as a variable which might affect the strength and continuity in the maintenance of international ties.

Spokespersons described migrants' needs as changing according to a linear progress from the moment of arrival to settlement, in a process conceived in ordered stages, as illustrated by the following passage by Movistar spokesperson:

> Differences in behaviour between immigrants and the Spanish population tend to decrease as soon as they integrate more with the Spanish population, and they have lived here [in Spain] for longer, and all those things that would make them different – shared housing, ownership, temporality, precarious jobs (...) have evolved.

In the same line of thought, Orange spokesperson distinguished between what she called "two micro-segments": one is composed by "the immigrant who has just arrived in Spain [and] strongly needs to communicate with her family or the people left behind in her country", and another one includes those persons who "start having friends within the country, or even family that comes once she settles, they reunify in Spain, so they start to need national phone calls".

The awareness of different needs according to the time lived in Spain has led both MNO and MVNO to increasingly improve their call rates, not only for calling abroad, but also for making national phone calls in Spain. Vodafone spokesperson said: "we have been pioneer in offering telephony services for immigrants since 2003 and we always try to have offers suitable for their telecommunication needs (...) both to talk between themselves and with their relatives in countries of origin". This reflects an increasingly complex understanding of the *extensity* of migrant connectivity (who migrants communicate with and where they are located). Paradoxically, as we saw in the previous chapter, both MP and MT advertising rely on written and visual messages almost exclusively focused on the transnational side of migrants' connectivity experience, particularly with close family members in origin. This sales strategy bases on the promise that the services will have a great *impact* on the maintenance of affective links with beloved ones, by promoting feelings of proximity and closeness, despite geographical distances. Next subsection will focus on the *intensity* of migrant communication (costs and frequency), in particular the cost issue, in order to look specifically at how telecom companies conceive and deal with low-income migrant customers.

7.1.2.The politics of prices in telecom services customized for migrant users

MP company spokespersons showed awareness of migrants' concern with expenses and looked for commercial strategies that fit this low-income user profile, namely prepaid subscriptions and limited monthly rates. Lebara spokesperson explained that one of the strengths of the company was its Pay-as-you-go service: "When you arrive here [in Spain] you don't want – or can't– sign a contract and you need something that helps you to communicate right away with your country, but that is prepaid", she said with reference to the lack of basic requirements to engage in a postpaid subscription (e.g. bank account, fixed address or regular incomes). The costs issue–illustrated through the need for convenient prices and mechanisms of control of expenses– also emerged as a defining feature of migrant users, as defined by Movistar spokesperson's account:

> They aspire to get cheap tariffs to call to their country. Many times they look for solutions which allow them to control expenses, more than a very cheap price per minute, maybe a semi-flat rate that [they can say] "I will pay 10€ or 20€ and I won't spend more than that" (...) Sometimes they want to know how much they have spent all the time, this has been expressed in many [of our marketing] research works.

In contemporary Spain, however, the price issue has stopped being an exclusive concern of low-income migrants and is increasingly being shared by native users as well, who might change providers and/or the kind of subscriptions they have in search of the cheapest service. This drain usually occurs from postpaid subscriptions with major carriers to prepaid services offered by small ones, taking advantage of portability.[123] In this sense, Orbitel spokesperson stated that "the telephony market is absolutely disloyal". Movistar informant explained this as part of the current socio-economic context: "In crisis time, customers focus more on price, while at other moments they looked more at brand values [like] reliability, reputation, safe service and so on (...) This affects communications with immigrants like any other communication". While being price sensitive, immigrants customers are still considered to be a very good commercial target for MP operators. Apart

[123] Mobile number portability implies that a user can keep her MP number in case she changed providers. The Spanish legislation reflects this user right since the first version of the General Law of Telecommunications was passed: Law 11/1998, article 26 (CMT, 2000).

from increasingly relying on mobile technology, they are conceived as more loyal customers than natives and, on average, they spend more [money] than natives, as stated by Vodafone spokesperson: "new resident customers with a prepaid subscription profile have superior monthly expenses on top-ups than the mean". As mentioned before, final prices will depend on specific –and temporary– commercial agreements between the telecom operator which starts the phone call in Spain and those which ends it in another destination. This implies that, depending on market fluctuations, some national origins will get better deals than others, probably affecting the *intensity* (frequency) of people's patterns of communication, as evidenced in Lebara spokesperson's words:

> We always have prices which are on sale at a certain moment, or specific nationalities that have the best prices and that we are interested in empowering (...) for example, if the price [to call to] Colombia was very good, we made more advertising for Colombians, things focused on them, with some typical Colombian phrase (...) Then changes are made, so [calls to] Africa used to be very low and now we increased [the price] (...) It also depends on the tariffs set by Vodafone, and on thousand factors.

At the moment of the interview, Orbitel had recently launched a special promotion for Colombians, "Your direct line" (*Tu línea directa*). It consisted in offering customers a fixed telephone number from their location of origin so people from there could call them any time paying the costs of a national call. "No other operator is offering this", said the company spokesperson, proud of their original approach. They also wanted to offer it to Ecuadorians, Bolivians and Peruvians, but it would all depend on difficult negotiations with the telecoms in those countries in charge of ending the calls.

7.1.3. The role of locutorios in telecom commercial strategies

Locutorios are an important cog in some telecom operators' machine. According to a recent survey comissioned by the association of *locutorios* from Madrid (Asolecom) in 2011 there were approximately 20.000 *locutorios* in Spain, but "in the last two years the sector has decreased around a 45%" (Cristancho, 2011). However, it is difficult to have accurate information because it is "a sector with a strong volatility –constant closings and openings in different premises" (Larroy, 2011). This was confirmed by MVNO Orbitel

spokesperson: “in Catalonia we have approximately 1200 points of sale and, during the year, 200 or 300 close and 100 or 200 open; it is a business that it is constantly opening and closing”.

Lebara informant explained that they had “a team of salesmen working on the street, selling directly to the *locutorios*”. Many of these shops in Spanish main cities, like Madrid and Barcelona, are clearly identified as Lebara points of sale, wallpapered with posters of the company, as the ones I analyzed in the previous chapter and as shown in Figure 7.1 below. When I asked about their advertising strategy, very focused on emotive images of distant beloved ones connected through MP calls, Lebara spokesperson explained that the company relied on a multicultural staff that gets emotionally involved in the development of this commercial imagery, in order to reach migrant consumers:

> We come from other places, we know how it feels, and we have this sensitivity about the need for communication with our country, with our people, [the need to] keep that link, so this is always used in our advertising campaigns. We contribute with our own experience.

Figure 7.1. A *locutorio* in Madrid, identified as point of sale of Lebara products. Source: photograph taken in 2011.

Lebara's successful commercial relationship with *locutorios* can be considered a victory that only a few more companies have been able to achieve. Movistar spokesperson explained they had tried to negotiate with some of them, but they could not reach an agreement. MVNO Orbitel spokesperson agreed it was difficult to work with these ethnic endeavours due to their reluctance to sell prepaid cards, since they saw these products as direct competition of their telephone booths. He also agreed that, in many cases, this situation has changed:

> One year ago, they were very reluctant to sell mobile related products, from our brand or any other one. But they have seen that it is a need, that people ask for it (...) Nevertheless, there are some *locutorios* that don't sell –and won't ever sell– prepaid cards because they are [considered] a direct competitor (...) they are loyal to this [idea] and they will continue to death.

The MT sector, on the contrary, has entered the *locutorio* business as a natural ally that has helped to enrich the menu of services offered to migrant customers. Next section focuses on the accounts of spokespersons from two key companies: Western Union (WU) and MoneyGram.

7.2. The Business of Moving Money for Mobile People

MT operators offer individual customers a network of agents to move money to and from different locations across the world, no matter the distance, in real time and in various currencies. They profit from a transfer fee charged in proportion to the total amount sent and from exchange rates. Part of the business success relies on covering as many places as possible through the collaboration with numerous and diverse agents that reach customers at both ends of the process, that is, at the points of origin and destination of the transfer. This implies knitting alliances with other actors, such as *locutorios*, diverse local shops and banks.

According to WU spokesperson, on the one hand banks were competitors, together with "the money transfer agencies, informal actors and the new players online, such as PayPal". On the other hand, she said that banks worked as allies: "we see them as natural partners because our product complements theirs perfectly well (...) many of our agents are

banks (...) We estimate that most of our customers are bankarized. Our service is not competition but complement". She underlined that WU distinctiveness relied on velocity, that is, on the immediateness of the service:

> WU strength is to take money available anywhere in the world in less than ten minutes, in cash and in any currency. In crisis time, this is a fundamental value; in prosperous times it might matter but it is not fundamental (...) when there is really an emergency [the immigrant] comes to us because she knows that the transference is guaranteed (...) [Banks cannot offer immediacy because] they base on a SWIFT [code] that delays [MT] from two to three days, which depending on whether banks are in the same country [or not] they can charge you a fee; in other banks it can last up to one week, and the opening times in destination can be different.

She also highlighted that banks do not always have currency or cash availability: "In Latin America, for example, this is very limited. It is complicated for security reasons and restrictive policies, like in Argentina".[124] MoneyGram spokesperson also referred to the importance of currency availability, together with the adaptation of money delivery services to different context of destination:

> We are trying to offer those which are most demanded by our customers, for example, if you send money from Spain to the Dominican Republic you can opt for home delivery service. Or through ATMs in the Middle East. Or MP in the Philippines. Additionally, we are offering also to pay in different currencies so our customers have the choice to receive their money. For example: Guaranies in Paraguay, Bolivianos in Bolivia, Nairas in Nigeria, etc.

These cultural specificities are also evidenced in the definition of the migrant customer, as next subsection shows.

Constructing migrants' needs of money management

Interviewees defined their target as any person who needed to send money from one place to another. This need has become increasingly shared by diverse customer profiles, as expressed by MoneyGram spokesperson: "The market is constantly changing,

[124] She referred to the foreign exchange controls Argentina's President Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner introduced (...) since her re-election in October 2011 to stem capital outflows and shore up central bank reserves" (Raszewski, 2013).

and our customer's needs too. So our speed to adapt our services portfolio to those needs will be very important at the time of getting involved in new market opportunities".

Company spokespersons agreed that while MT is a particularly strong practice among recently arrived immigrants, this profile has diversified into at least two directions: native people and settled immigrants. In particular, they referred to native customers as follows:

> In Spain, our service portfolio is focused on those people who need to send money abroad. They used to be migrants that needed to send money to their family and friends who lived in their countries. In addition to it, this year we are planning to launch a new service, domestic sends, that will let our customers to send money nationwide, from one place to another inside the Spanish territory; so it will not only be focused in migrants, but also in the Spanish population (MoneyGram informant).

> The migratory effect works as a driver for money: people move fundamentally to improve economically or their level of studies; there is always something aspirational that goes hand in hand with the need to send or receive money (...) the movement of people create the need to send and receive money. So there is a basic target public for us that is the concept of the migrant, which has increased due to the economic situation in Europe, in particular from Latin America, Africa and Asia. But now we're at a point in which we have seen that some migratory processes have come to a standstill, so really the target is not only immigrants but also natives, the same that happened in the US (Western Union informant).

Interviewees also referred to customers' dynamic identities and needs, in particular with reference to the time of arrival: "Customers have changed", agreed the Western Union informant, who estimated that a 40 to 45 percent of immigrants has been living in Spain for at least ten years:

> They're practically more Spanish [than Spaniards] (...) Our market doesn't base any more on the poor immigrant who has just arrived and needs to send money to her family in origin. It bases on a customer who has a bank account, subscriptions to MP, landlines and the internet, who has lived between five and ten years in our country and she is what I call a `smart customer', who knows how to value all kinds of services, including MT.

She contextualized consumer behaviour according to different stages in the lifecycle of being an immigrant, distinguishing between three periods: arrival, settlement "for more than five years" and "for more than ten years". According to her, these stages are conceptualised as `the U curve', allowing strategists to predict customers' particular behaviours at each point:

> An initiated who has been for one year, normally sends more often but less quantity because her income is lower. She starts sending little by little, normally to parents, brothers sisters and relatives. [Those who have been here for] more than five years, send less often but more quantity. [What happens at first] is logical, because she is still sharing an apartment, she has more precarious jobs... When she has been [at destination] between three and five years, she has already assumed various responsibilities in this country, she probably goes to live alone, buys a car, has credit cards (...) [so] she can send more money. [If she has stayed for] more than ten years, the curve starts to descend, but it depends, because she could keep on sending [money] to parents and relatives.

The hypothesis of the U curve might succeed for some people under normal circumstances of employment and wellbeing. However, during my fieldwork, I met migrant people who had spent various years in Spain and could never earn enough money to send abroad. For this reason, I find many of these generalizations to be problematic and too simplistic of migrant experiences. In particular, the periodization of migrant arrival as linear, well-defined stages, and their process of "becoming native" when some consumption standards are met. I think this perspective infantilizes migrant subjects, reduce their multiple identities to the economic one and measures them against Western ethnocentric standards.

As we saw in the case of MP operators, MT services also face the challenges inherent to a culturally diverse target. In the same line of thought, while they recognize diversity, they also draw on national stereotypes to construct and predict potential connectivity needs and develop commercial strategies accordingly, as the following passages illustrate:

> Our target is very different between each nationality; some of them have different languages, cultures, religions and festivities, so we try to adapt our communication

to the media they use, with the appropriate language for them to understand. (MoneyGram informant)

It makes more complex the marketing we develop, because customers are very different. You can't talk the same way to an Argentinean than to a Paraguayan or to a Colombian or to a Russian, a Chinese or a Philippine person. The need to adapt to each culture is very important. (Western Union informant)

Advertising campaigns try to reflect potential customers' different feelings and situations, mainly based on national origin and cultural traditions, as exemplified in Figure 7.2 and explained by MoneyGram spokesperson:

In the Third Quarter (July, August and September) there are important festivities for some corridors, such us Ramadan for Muslims (Morocco, Senegal, Mali, Pakistan, etc.), or "back to school" (...) Or important migrant flows due to Spanish holidays (...) On Christmas, we have to take into account that it is the most important Spanish festivity (...) Romanians have their own celebrations and customs and for them, for example, the Diaspora occurs in the Orthodox Easter so they usually demand to send more money during this period (...) Latin Americans are from different nationalities (Ecuadorians, Colombians, Bolivians, Peruvians, etc.) but with similar customs and for them the Mother's Day is a very special event.

Figure 7.2. Advertisement piece for the celebration of Ramadan in 2011, in Arab, French and Spanish. Source: courtesy of MoneyGram Spain.

MoneyGram most widespread campaign, however, does not draw on specific cultural values but on more universal ones, as Figure 7.3 shows.

> It is the result of a research made by the company in 2007 across 22 countries in order "to identify the MoneyGram values perceived by our customers to be incorporated in our Global brand and communication [strategy] (...) We built a new brand based in MoneyGram positioning essence of *Greater Control and Choice for Today's Hectic Lifestyle"* (MoneyGram informant).

Figure 7.3. Money Gram Spain advertisement piece, campaign *Greater Control and Choice for Today's Hectic Lifestyle.* Source: Courtesy of Money Gram Spain.

> The insight of the campaign is "The choice is in our customer hands" and it is illustrated with hands: "We selected a powerful iconography as a global creative idea: hands, which we choose because they expressed:
>
> 1. Strength, power, work
> 2. Friendship, warmth, trust
> 3. Unity, peace
> 4. Opportunities, future" (MoneyGram informant).

In the case of Western Union, they conduct annual analysis of their customers' consumption habits and those of competitors' customers, at both the European and Spanish levels, with a double segmentation that includes immigrants and nationals. This includes qualitative approaches, such as focus groups, and quantitative ones, which analyze internal data on volume and frequency of transfers. The changes experienced by the commercial target has challenged traditional market research tools and advertising campaigns. The company spokesperson summarized these changes as follows:

> When I arrived in the company, communication was linked to [the idea of] *poor immigrant! Trust me that I will help you for your money to arrive ok*. But I discovered that there are super positive values that are important in money transfers and connectivity (...) the first thing we have to recognise to immigrants is the success of having been able to survive (...), to join a new society, I mean, to adapt [to it], to go on, and above all, to be responsible of those left behind. So I have always liked to reflect a positive message in the communicative strategy [of the company].

As I already mentioned, there has been a shift in the insight of the Western Union strategy after the development of the "Yes!" campaign, characterised for being highly visual and sentimental, with colorful, big size and portrait-like photographs of smiling individual characters with almost no written information.

> All the images we use are of smiling people, emotional, kissing and loving each other: mothers, sons and daughters, fathers and grandmothers. And we have always wanted to reflect that message of proud: we understand that our customers must feel proud of what they have done and that is what we want to value in all our communications, independently of the obvious commercial interest, but always supporting their self-confidence (...) celebrating that you are able to [economically] maintain your beloved ones.

According to her, their campaigns are very influential on the context in which they operate, having an effect on both other competitors' strategies and the public opinion:

> I think it has an effect on the Spanish society (...) the fact that we have chosen to reflect positive values of immigration has helped 100 percent to other [competitors] that follow us (...) if we had chosen a negative connotation like *don't suffer so much, come with me*, it would have probably been reflected in the rest of campaigns.

Her words reflect some of the contradictions that private actors' role have in the map of contemporary migration. I dedicate the next subsection to deal with some of these paradoxes.

7.3. The Paradoxical Pro-migrant Position of the Private Sector

An interesting aspect of the interviewes I held with both MT and MP company spokesperson was how informants acknowledged and positioned regarding their target's sometimes precarious economic, social and political situations. On the one hand, they showed sensitivity towards the common problems many migrants must face to access basic resources, such as housing, jobs and legal rights, as reflected in MVNO Lebara spokesperson's words: "there are those who count [in the statistics] but also those who are illegal, who are vey numerous too and need to communicate with their country, and we have to understand it". On the other hand, informants' words reflected concerns more related to the fate of their businesses than to migrants' rights and wellbeing.

I identified the companies' favourable position towards immigrants in various expressions, for example: "Although we're in crisis time and it is difficult to highlight it, they [immigrants] have contributed to the economic growth of the country when there was the need of workforce" (MoneyGram informant). Apart from being worried about migrants' public image, however, one of his main concerns was how their remittance practices would be affected by the economic crisis, since he considered this was one of the biggest threats to the business: "the economic crisis has strongly affected immigrants and their ability to earn and send money", he said.

Company informants agreed that their companies' commercial activities have been dramatically affected by recent changes in their respective legislations, including the obligation to identify their customers. In the telecom sector, the implementation of the Law of Data Storage (BOE 251, 2007) obliged operators to collect and store for 12 months the users' identification data, their traffic and localization (but not the content of their electronic communication). In practical terms, its application implied that operators requested all their current and future customers to show their ID, passport or residence

permit in order to subscribe to their services. The law came into force on 9th November 2007 and gave companies and customers a two-year period to adopt it. It echoed a European Union directive (2006/24/CE) that in its preamble argued that

> (...) the extraordinary expansion in quantity and quality [of ICT uses] has been accompanied by a drop in costs, making this kind of communications available to any person anywhere in the world (...) its use can derive into the achievement of unwanted purposes, even criminal ones (BOE 251, 2007, p. 42517, *my translation*).

This new legislation emerged in response to the terrorist attacks of 9/11 in New York, 2001, and 3/11 in Madrid, 2004, in a climate of high securitization of society and criminalization of Muslim persons. According to the new law, the data stored could be retrieved at any time by agents of the Police and the National Center of Intelligence for their investigations, in order to "protect the public security". The months before its implementation, public authorities and companies launched various awareness campaigns, spreading informative brochures, infomercials and print advertising to hurry customers to regularize their situation, as exemplified by Figure 7.4.

Spanish philologist Maria Sabaté (2010) offered an interesting critical reading of this law as an undercover measure to deal with undocumented migrants, a vulnerable group of users, for whom prepaid subscritpions constituted the main solution to their communicative needs for being on low-cost and anonymous. In her words:

> This law did not actually affect the general public (...) [but] offered a way to control and even prosecute mostly undocumented migrant anonymous prepaid calling card users under a civic umbrella (...) behaving civically now meant following market rationalities (such as signing contracts), since it was the individual client/citizen and no longer the welfare-like nation-state who took full responsibility for the provision or guarantee of one's rights (...) failure to contribute to the market organisation and its clientelist regimes (Harvey 2003) and to the securitisation of society by avoiding self-registration turned unregistered users into deviant, antiprudent, unruly, non-cooperative and unsocialised persons (Sabaté, 2010, pp. 100-101)

Figure 7.4. Vodafone brochure after the Law of Data Storage.
Source: *locutorio* in Barcelona, 2010

This institutional attack on vulnerable individuals' rights in the name of national security clearly constitutes the most reprehensible aspect of the aforementioned law. However, at the business level, this dimension was barely mentioned by spokespersons, more concerned with the technical problems and headaches caused by its implementation. MásMóvil spokesperson regretted: "we had to block many lines (...) not all foreigners feel comfortable about giving their personal information so it has become more difficult to attract new customers". Many of their customers, however, were already subscribed through their bank account and credit card automatic top-ups, so he observed that "the

negative impact [of the bill] has been probably lower than that of other companies dedicated only to prepaid services". Lebara spokesperson complained that while her company followed the law, many of their competitors did not, leading to disloyal competition:

> Some people didn't register and lost their lines. Then people called to ask what had happened, if they did have credits (...) It was a [long] process that took various months and was very complicated, but we did it (...) Then we started to lose customers because they bought other SIM cards without having to register, so they chose the easy way.

The identification of migrant customers can be a delicate issue when the legal status is not always guaranteed to everybody. This requirement also affects the provision of MT services, in which providers must register and storage their customers' personal information in case the Bank of Spain requests it, as explained by the Western Union informant. She said that regulations across Europe varied greatly, so that "in the UK you can send money without identifying yourself, but in Spain you have to show your ID". However, it was still possible to provide MT services to foreigners with irregular legal status:

> At first, it was thought that it would affect the quantity of the remittances, but it didn't (...) most migrants have regularized their situation, and those who remain illegal have no problem because we only register their ID. I don't ask the customer if she is legal or illegal, I ask for her identity document (...) it can be a passport, a residence permit or the Spanish identity card (...) In Italy they are obliged to report if they have the suspicion that the immigrant is illegal.

While she said that the company is very careful and respectful of each national legal framework of the country where they operate, her words reflected some tensions between the controlling role of nation states and the commercial aims of the enterprise. I identified this tension in other documents I consulted. For example, in the *3rd Ibero-American Encounter about Remittances*, celebrated in Madrid in 2007,[125] the Western Union representative formulated an ethical problem: "How to prevent money laundering and the financing of terrorist activities at the same time that we keep company values such as non-discriminatory service, confidentiality and consumer protection?" (Lima, 2007). This

[125] This event is organised annually by the non-profit organisation Remesas.org.

rhetorical argument served her as a springboard to, some slides afterwards, suggest that states should consult companies to improve future regulations.

Regarding the spread of increasingly restrictive anti-immigration policies that affect most North American and European countries**,** one informant said: "Talking from a personal perspective (...) I've observed that both in Europe and the US they imply bigger flows of illegal immigration, so bigger flows of illegal movements of money". Her attitude reminded me of document W-8 that I analyzed in Chapter 5, entitled "Hiring of foreign workers gets business vote of confidence". It presented the results of a survey commissioned by the company that concluded: "World business leaders believe that migration continues to be good for business and the economy (...) [but] fewer than one in ten (eight percent) are advocating for migration processes or programs under their own company name".

The document appears as a timid but forceful positioning of the private sector in favour of the free movement of persons (at least workforce on demand) in the context of tense public debates and controversial decision-making processes on migration issues. According to the company spokesperson, however, the company has no lobbying power with regard to public policies:

> We cannot influence those decisions; we do have a policy of respect and social concern because we know that it affects our customers, the owners of the shops we work with, and we understand that the basic need of the individual is to improve, and in this world we live in, improve means to move in most of the cases.

7.4. Concluding Remarks

Practitioners' first-hand accounts sought to enrich the understanding of corporate discourses on migrant connectivity in general, and of the visual and textual analysis I presented in previous chapters in particular. In MP company informants' discourses, I identified three main characteristics attributed to immigrants' connectivity: international, controlled and mobile, which were also very present in the advertisement pieces I analyzed in Chapter 7. However, spokespersons' accounts also resulted contradictory in various issues, related to both other orders of discourse and, more surprisingly, to the advertising messages their own companies were disseminating. On the one hand, they acknowledged

migrants' multiple, affective, transnational belongings, offering a better understanding of their lives in comparison with public policies, which tend to address fictitiously uprooted persons. On the other hand, although most of them did show awareness of the changing and translocal nature of migrants' connectivity needs, this did not seem to be reflected in the exclusively transnationally oriented ads. This suggests that there is a gap between marketing practitioners´ knowledge and the final message, probably caused by commercial interests dependent on making business across national borders (starting international calls and managing money abroad). Thus companies overemphasize such belongings, reducing migrant connectivity to its international dimension.

At the ideological level, this has various implications and presuppositions that reify migrants' needs in representations that not always fit with people's experiences. Firstly, it ignores –or puts in the background– people´s local connectivity needs. Secondly, the bias towards migrants´ transnational connectivity is accompanied by a strong focus on family relationships, which serves companies to highlight the strong emotional and financial responsibilities migrants have towards their families, being constantly reminded to call `home´ and send money. In turn, this presupposes the unidirectional character of transnational caregiving, in which migrants are the only active carers of highly passivized non-migrant relatives.

8. Appropriating connectivity resources: migrants' accounts as users of MP and MT

In many emerging markets, handsets are reused, resold or passed down through the family. Hoehler as cited in (Millar, 2013)

The aim of this chapter is to show the richness of migrants' connectivity strategies through the everyday experiences of those who have migrated and need to communicate trans/nationally, that is, both with people within Spain and across national borders. As I already mentioned in Chapter 1, by migrant connectivity I mean the practices people on the move have to keep in touch with their beloved ones despite distance, through the circulation of communicative and material resources. The compendium of migrants' accounts that follow offers another standpoint on MP and Mt use, different from the commercial discourses I previously analyzed. In particular, I am interested in showing to what extent the assumptions made by providers –and the commercial strategies derived from them– fit people's realities, needs and imaginaries. Do migrants feel closer to distant beloved ones when using MP and/or sending money? Are they always connected and ubiquitous? Which are the most convenient channels to keep in touch (in price and quality)? These are some of the questions raised by the analysis of corporate discourses that now are contrasted with (and many times contested by) users' perspectives and experiences. I analyzed migrants' accounts through a bottom-up codification process assisted by Atlas.ti Qualitative Data Analysis Software (QDAS) according to three groups of codes:[126] 1) Technological environment (the technologies interviews had, the platforms they used and the feelings they helped to express), 2) Low-cost strategies of connectivity (diverse appropriation strategies like multi SIM card ownership and missed calls), and 3) Advertisements reception based on Hall's (1974) categories mentioned above.

Before delving into migrants' accounts, I provide an overview of some socio-

[126] See the codes in Appendix J.

economic information about their personal profiles and migratory pathways, namely their motivation to migrate, employment and housing situation, and future plans. These will be useful to contextualize their accounts and understand their access to and use of MP and MT services. It follows the core section of the chapter, organized around two key issues: migrants' patterns of connectivity, and their relationships with providers of MP and MT services. The former organizes migrants' accounts in accordance to the four dimensions of interconnection −extensity, intensity, velocity and impact (Ros, 2010) − as detailed in Chapter 2. The latter includes MP user appropriation strategies, changes of providers and migrants' access and use of mobile internet. Regarding MT, I pay special attention to the particularities related to timing (e.g. routines, rituals and crisis), amounts, motivations and modalities of sending money (banks, agencies, etc.). Finally, I present the results of the joint reading of ads in which interviewees identified with, rejected, criticized and problematized different aspects of the commercial representation of their trans/national lives. This analysis was guided by Hall's (1974) concept of reading positions, in which dominant, negotiated and oppositional attitudes converged and collided.

8.1. Introducing Migrant Interviewees in a Critical Socio-Economic Context

Most interviewees migrated in order to improve their living conditions, looking for better paid jobs for them and better opportunities for their families. This is reflected in their motivation to move in the first place: "to change a better future for my sons" (Ana[127], 42), "a change of life" (Juana, 39) or just "to improve" (Rachida, 37). In all, 15 out of the 30 persons interviewed said they came to Spain to work, in particular Ecuadorians. The second most important reason was family reunification, especially common between Moroccan women who had married compatriot men previously living in Spain. Moroccan interviewees arrived in very different moments between the 1990s and 2011, while most Ecuadorians had arrived between 1999 and 2003.[128]

[127] These are fictitious names in order to preserve interviewees' anonimity.

[128] See Appendix K.

Ecuadorian interviewees who arrived in the early 2000s contextualized their migration in the harsh economic and political crisis undergone by their origin country at the time, which I briefly mentioned in chapter 3. "If many of us are here, it is because the economic and political situation in our country is not good", said Noelia (34), who arrived in 2003 after her husband, in order "to work" but who also took the chance of studying business administration and nursing. Another interviewee, Oscar (30), used to work in his own shop in Ecuador: "but with the crisis, the [value] of dollars collapsed so I had to leave it and come here [to Spain]", he regretted. He came in February 2000 and five months later his wife followed him, unlike most cases in which women came first and reunified their families afterwards. This was Roberto's (45) case, who explained:

> In my country, like now is happening in Spain, there was a big financial crisis. There was big instability, changes in the currency, from Sucres[129] to dollars, and everything you earned was not enough anymore. So my wife decided to leave us – my daughters were very small– and came to make her way in the world. In the meantime, I continued working in Ecuador, but it was not enough.

Wilson (40) remembered that he took the decision to leave Ecuador with a group of friends from University, after he finished his studies in fish farming and animal husbandry:

> There was the boom of Spain, where the economic situation was much better at that time, I'm talking about 2002 more or less (...) we all left, some [of us] went to Italy, others to France, others came to Spain. [Now] some are in Madrid, others in Murcia and others are here in Barcelona. We are all working. Well, now I'm unemployed.

The consequences of the economic crisis in Spain increasingly affected people's lives, in particular of those located in more precarious positions. In the group of 30 people I interviewed, there were nine unemployed persons who were looking for a job; some of them had unemployment benefits while others did not because their previous jobs did not cover it. For instance, many migrants were employed in the informal economy, which does not offer job contracts, stability or basic workers' rights. Moreover, the informal economy is highly segmented by gender roles: three interviewed women worked as domestic workers

[129] The Ecuadorian Sucre was the official currency of the country until 2000. At that time, a severe economic crisis devaluated and the government decided to replace it with American dollars.

and carers, while three men got sporadic jobs in the construction sector. Seven people had a formal job at the moment of the interview, two of whom were self-employed. The percentage of unemployment was higher among Moroccan women, three of whom neither had a job nor were looking for it. Four interviewees were only studying and two more combined an academic training with jobs, as I summarized in Table 8.1 below.

Table 8.1. Interviewed migrants' occupation profile. Own elaboration.

Occupation	Name	Total
studying	Alicia, Karina, Fatiha and Oscar	4
working and studying	Micaela and Youssef	2
do not work but look for a job	Ali, Ahmed, Said, Habiba, Malika, Naima, Roberto, Wilson and Juana	9
do not work and do not look for a job	Khadija, Aziza and Sara	3
has a formal job	Mustapha, Rachida, Julio, Gladys, Noelia, Andrés and Yolanda	7
has an informal job	Mohamed, Pedro, Nilo, María and Ana	5
		30

Most interviewees expressed their concern about the lack of job opportunities they were experiencing after months, or even years, of exhausting search. "I don't care what job I could get, I wanna work anywhere", said Naima (22) while cuddling one of her three small sons when I interviewed her at their home in Reus, Catalonia. She had worked as an undocumented domestic worker for many years until she got a work permit four years before I met her. However, this had not improved her desperate situation.

Some people had known the prosperous years, but others who arrived more recently were very disappointed for the mismatch between their expectations and the reality on arrival. Ali (34) arrived in 2008 with the hope of working and continuing his tertiary education, motivated by his friends who lived abroad: "when in Spain there were lot of jobs, they told me there were many opportunities", he explained.

The critical situation in Spain led many migrants to change their plans: some were thinking to leave to another country (not necessarily the one of origin), others were acquiring new skills to adapt to the new labor market demands or they were trying to get back to jobs they did not like, such as Maria (30), who was unemployed and had an informal

job as a house cleaner. Some years ago, she worked as a chambermaid in some hotels near Plaza Espanya in Barcelona and went there again to take her CV:

> I didn't want to work as a chambermaid again, it is hard work (...) but I realized that the situation was pretty tough (...) In two hotels I had worked, they told me they will call me if there was a vacancy... and there must be nothing if they don't call me! I used to get this kind of jobs any time I wanted (...) not now... they don't even call you!

She was not planning to leave Spain, as her husband Oscar explained: “Here there are better life conditions than there [in Ecuador] and I have my two daughters (...) Here there are better health services and less delinquency”, he explained. He had always worked in the construction industry since he arrived in 2000 until September 2010. He got relatively good unemployment benefits and decided to take a course on health related issues: “Salaries have gone down a lot (...) so I prefer to finish my studies and look for a job in the sectors I’m being trained in”, he said.

Precarious employability was not necessarily related to low educational levels or lack of skills. I was surprised by most interviewees’ multiple trainings and working experiences as well as language skills. In particular, Moroccan interviewees were very multilingual, speaking at least two of the following languages: Arab, Tamazight, French, Spanish and Catalan. In my sample, unemployment affected especially men of both national origins, as well as Moroccan women, more exposed to language barriers and strict gender roles.

The different requirements and time periods needed to formally request and obtain the Spanish nationality varied greatly across origins, positioning interviewees differently in terms of legal status and the consequent access to opportunities, including (better) jobs. Most of the Ecuadorians I interviewed had obtained the Spanish nationality or had the hope to get it in the near future. While they had to wait approximately two years after asking for it, Moroccans must have ten years of proved residence in the country. This abysmal difference relied on the bilateral agreement signed between Spain and Ecuador in 1964 and updated in 2000 (“Convenio de doble Nacionalidad con Ecuador,” 2000). The acquisition of double citizenship by Ecuadorians in Spain has continued to increase in 2012

(Cevallos, 2012a), although many have returned to Ecuador "due to the crisis"(Cevallos, 2012b).

Among those who were planning to leave Spain, there were many Moroccan interviewees who had relatives or acquaintances living in other European countries, who had encouraged them to join them. Mustapha (39) was one of them. After living for more than 14 years in Spain and having his own hairdresser salon, he was thinking in new horizons:

> Actually, I don't want to stay here with this crisis. Once I get the [Spanish] citizenship, I'm planning to move country, because there is no future [here]. I have friends in Belgium, in France, in Switzerland and they work very well. And laws are better over there. I'm paying *autónomos*[130] since 2000; now, if I close the shop and go to the social insurance office, I have no rights… neither unemployment benefits nor other benefits. I have too many expenses and there is no work!

According to some interviewees, the scarcity of job opportunities was worsened by hostile attitudes towards people of non-Spanish or non-European origin −xenophobia− or for their physical features –racism–. In particular, a young Moroccan man said: "Now, in crisis time, there is also a lot of racism. You have a job interview and when you get out of the place, they drop your CV into the dustin bin".

As we will see in the following sections, lack of regular income, uncertainty about the future and tight budgets have affected migrants' patterns of connectivity. Although they continue to keep in touch with their beloved ones and remain more connected than ever through ICT, personal communication repertoires have diversified and the volume of remittances, in many cases, have decreased.

8.2. Migrants' Patterns of Connectivity

Migrants' patterns of connectivity are enmeshed in a complex articulation of variables related to both their individual backgrounds and environmental conditions: age, gender roles, income levels, aim and stage of migratory projects, family contexts, differences in digital literacy, technological equipment and infrastructures, to name but a few. These elements are complexly entangled and have different implications depending on

[130] *Autónomo* is the Spanish word for self-employed workers.

people's locations (e.g. origin and destination societies), shaping varied connectivity repertoires based on various media at both the national and international levels. In order to understand migrants' accounts on these issues, I organized the next sections according to the four main dimensions of interconnection (Ros, 2010) already mentioned in chapter 2: *extensity* ("who communicate with whom? Where are they located?"), *intensity* ("how often" and "how much"), *velocity* (instantaneity) and *impact* (feelings of proximity, blurring boundaries of dichotomies such as here/there).

8.2.1. Extensity

Migrants kept in touch with people located at diverse affective and geographical locations through diverse media: family, friends, acquaintances, neighbours and employers living in societies of destination, origin and others. As a general trend, they privileged the communication with close family members who stayed in origin, as a young Moroccan man stated: "In our tradition, family is first. You can be anywhere, but you must keep in touch with the family". Aged 20, he came to Spain in 2007 to meet his father who has lived there for ten years. Most of his family was in Morocco, but also scattered in France and Italy. He had a Blackberry that allowed him to connect to the internet as well as to make and receive calls from abroad, especially to speak with his mother every day. If she insisted a bit, he would also turn on the webcam to see each other.

In transnational family communication (from now on TFC), I identified two trends that characterized the extensity of migrant connectivity. Firstly, interviewees tended to be the most active part in the connectivity process, being in charge of sending money and/or making international telephone calls. This did not mean, however, that non-migrants had an intrinsic passive role (as suggested in the ads analyzed in the previous chapter) but that there were structural differences affecting the possibilities of each actor and conditioning the direction of flows. This was highly dependent on providers' business structures, since it was cheaper to call from Spain to another country than the other way round. Thus migrants preferred to assume this cost to prevent their non-migrant beloved ones to have unnecessary expenses[131].

[131] I will go back to the issue of costs in the subsection on the intensity of migrants' connectivity.

Secondly, another trend in TFC relates to the gendered dimensions of kin work. In various interviewees' accounts, it was possible to identify women based at both origin and destination societies who played the role of "dominant nodes of communication" (Wilding, 2006, p.138), transmitting information and news to, from and about scattered family members. One example was Rachida (37)'s mother who usually kept her daughter updated about all the news of their numerous family in Morocco, especially about her 11 sons and daughters who lived in the same building but lacked internet connection and landline telephone. In turn, Rachida told her the news about her husband and 10 year-old son in Catalonia.

The local and international dimensions of communication

The different configurations of migrants' personal networks across national borders implied different communicative needs. Throughout the interviews, the MP was a central element in migrants' accounts, especially for making and receiving local phone calls within Spain in order to talk with reunified family members, friends and actual and potential employers.

Interviewees cherished MP for TFC too, which in some cases predominated over local communication. In the sample of interviewees, there were two young women who had been recently reunified by their Moroccan husbands and did not know many people in Catalonia, except from a few relatives, so their communication patterns were mainly international, with parents and friends in societies of origin and other countries. Malika (25) had arrived in Reus, Catalonia, just four months before we had the interview, when she told me she felt quite lonely. Her lack of acquaintances at destination was reflected in her communication pattern: "I don't use SMS because I don't know lot of people here, so I just make calls, especially international calls, to my sister in France and my parents in Morocco", she said. Aziza (20) also had a very international pattern of communication, although she has lived in Reus for two years: "I send SMS to my husband [in Spain] and I make lots of phone calls to my parents and my friends who are in Morocco", she said.

Interviewees who have been living in Catalonia for longer time periods had a more diverse geographical distribution of social contacts. Mustapha communicated with

numerous people at different locations and used the MP in combination with other media, like social network sites (SNS). He had separate Facebook groups for his family, people related to work, friends and also politicians, all of them from places as different as Catalonia, Morocco, Egypt and Lebanon: "Sometimes I talk with my brother who lives in Morocco and has 16 years old (...) with my brother-in-law and my sister who are in Almeria[132]... my cousins from Morocco, a friend in Madrid". Fatiha (21) said the most frequently dialled numbers in her MP were "three friends from Reus, my aunt in Morocco and my cousin in Barcelona". She arrived in 2004, when she was only 13 years old, with her mother, sister and three brothers, and soon made new friends at school. Her mother, however, dedicated to family work and did not acquire many social contacts locally. She said she did not call many people in Spain but needed to contact her relatives in origin: "[I talk with] my mother and my sister in Morocco every week (…) because here I have no family, except from my husband, sons and daughters".

The local and international dimensions of communication articulated in personal media repertoires crafted for different purposes and circumstances. Habiba (40) distinguished between the different resources she used for TFC with her parents, brothers and sisters who lived in Morocco, or other family members she had in Valencia[133] and London:

> With some of them I talk more on the phone than on a chat room (...) with the telephone it is easier... with Facebook you have to write and you lose more time. But with the video conference yes, I like it more.

For national communication, Youssef (45) preferred the telephone "it is easy and immediate". For international communication, he sometimes used chat rooms, email and SNS but not much, only "to upload some information, to know what's up with friends and to be updated".

[132] Almería is a Spanish city in the southern region of the country.

[133] Valencia is the capital of the autonomous community of Valencia and the third largest city in Spain, after Madrid and Barcelona.

The value of voice communication

Although MP were used in combination with other media, in TFC they were especially important to overcome barriers related to age, literacy and infrastructures affecting both migrants and their non-migrant relatives, providing direct and instant communication in easy ways.

Interviewees' experiences of international voice communication through MP and landline phones could be roughly differentiated into two groups, depending on whether they were complemented with Computer Mediated Communication (CMC) or not. In the first group, there were people who, apart from having economic constraints, faced obstacles related to illiteracy in general, and digital illiteracy specifically. Indeed the people with the lowest educational levels were less familiar with CMC and more dependent on voice communication, such as Noelia and Ahmed, a young Moroccan couple who never finished school, did not know how to use computers but each of them owned a basic MP with a prepaid subscription. Their communication repertoire was based 100% on voice communication and limited to a very small budget, since they were both unemployed and depended on family allowances to raise their three small children. If they wanted to communicate with relatives in Morocco, they would always go to a *locutorio* because it was cheaper.

Since MP do not require training or specific knowledge for their use, they constitute a valuable multimedia resource for non-literate people who, apart from making calls, used it for listening to music, making photos and playing games. In various cases, young family members usually skilled in ICT use, helped adults at both societies of origin and destination to use more complex devices, including computers. Pedro (57), who came to Catalonia in 1999 with his four sons and daughters after a reunification process started by his wife, was not familiar with computer use either. Sometimes he would go to one of his sons' house next door to participate in family video conferences with his help. In another family, Khadija (43) always asked for her elder daughter's assistance for everything related to the internet: from downloading movies to following up online processes with the public

administration[134]. She often had video conferences with her sister in Morocco, who in turn "has sons who have internet at their place". In these accounts, sons and daughters were synonyms of access and connectivity for digitally illiterate people.

Most interviewees, however, did use CMC and combined MP with SNS and email in their communicative repertoires. However, they were conditioned by the situation of the family of origin. A Moroccan man with University studies, for example, had good reasons for preferring CMC to voice calls: "I always use Messenger and Facebook to chat with my friends from Morocco. It is a cheaper option". However, he could not do the same to communicate with everybody abroad: "In my family, there are people who have neither studied nor have the knowledge to connect [to the internet]. I talk by phone with them".

Apart from educational level, digital literacy is also conditioned by age. All interviewees had some older family members –grandparents or parents– far away, and phonecalls were the main means of communication with these. One Ecuadorian woman aged 34 said she loved video-conferences so much she could spend from three to eight hours chatting and sharing daily-life activities with her parents. However, voice communication remained the basic means for keeping in touch with those living in a rural area in Ecuador. In this case, computer illiteracy, age and lack of technological infrastructure interacted to make the internet a preferred, but second option. It was only possible when her parents travelled to the home of her younger sister, who lives in the city, has a good internet connection and is computer literate:

> Many times I´m cooking, I take the laptop to the dining room and while I´m doing things, I talk with my sister or my father (…) It is not the same to talk on the phone (...) to see each other through the webcam, you know? You can see, for instance, if there is an image of anguish or of calm. I talk on the phone a lot and I ask about my father [who is sick], but I depend on my sister´s comments.

[134] At the time of the interview, she was waiting for "some paperwork for her Spanish children, the passport of her kids and the papers, the national [identity] cards" (this quote is the translation from Arab to English made by another interviewee).

Mustapha experienced a similar situation with his mother: "Now, with the new technologies, I can speak with my mother and see her with the webcam, and this makes you feel good". This occurred twice a month, "if she is at my sisters' who has internet at her place; I can talk with her through Messenger, with the webcam. But my sister must help her". Otherwise, their weekly contact is held by phone from a *locutorio* or a MP with a low-cost SIM card. Like other interviewees, Mustapha drew on multiple strategies to have cheap regular TFC.

8.2.2. Intensity

This dimension draws our attention towards the *costs* and *frequency* of connectivity events, answering the *how much..?* and *how often..?* questions around migrant connectivity (Ros, 2010), including the role of *locutorios* as low-end ICT access points.

Despite being a key connectivity resource, MP presented some disadvantages that limited their use, namely, it was too expensive and it did not offer visual cues. Julio estimated that a call from Ecuador to Spain costed around one dollar per minute (70 eurocents); he said it was too expensive for her family: "I prefer to call them than the other way round". At the moment of writing, a call from a *locutorio* in Spain to Ecuador costed 12 eurocents per minute (p/m) for landline numbers and 19 eurocents p/m for MP numbers. The cheapest prices to call from Spain to Morocco are approximately 9 eurocents p/m to landline numbers and 29 eurocents p/m for MP numbers[135]. Mustapha expressed his surprise for the difference in prices to call from Spain to different destinies:

> This calls my attention (…) because calling to Morocco is very expensive but I don't understand because Morocco is closer than Colombia, Bolivia or Ecuador. Then why are calls [to Morocco] more expensive [than calls to these countries]?

Another interviewee observed annoyed that her relatives living in France got a better deal to call to Morocco:

> The people who has fixed phone in France can call to other fix ones in Morocco [paying] nothing all the day [long]. So my sister is calling, or my cousin or all the

[135] These tariffs correspond to the final price by 10/12/2012 provided by a *locutorio* in Barcelona.

> people who are in France, [they] are calling every time and anytime they want with nothing! (...) But here [in Spain] it is a little bit difficult.

As some company spokespersons explained in the previous chapter, variations of this kind depended on the commercial agreements held between the telecom companies involved in starting and ending the call.

High prices tended to ensure that conversations were very short, just enough for greeting. This happened to Wilson, who regularly talked with his 10 year-old son who lives in Ecuador. He complained about the prices of international calls from the MP, but would occasionally pay for these anyway:

> Sometimes I don't have the time to go to the *locutorio*; for example, you are at home and it is raining, or you feel in a bad mood, then you call directly from the mobile phone. But it is `hello' and `goodbye'.

He had decided to ask his mobile network provider to block international call services from his prepaid MP, in order to avoid temptations and unaffordable bills. This situation illustrates one appropriation strategy that, as I explained in Chapter 2, involves users shaping ICT devices and services to their own needs and possibilities.

With regard to money transfers, *locutorios* are a good option to send money almost instantaneously through the MT agencies they work with. However, many interviewees who had bank accounts preferred to use them in order to avoid agencies' commissions and limited opening times. I will go back to both subjects –MP appropriation and MT practices– with more detail in the last section of the chapter on the "Relationships with providers of connectivity services".

***Cheap and handy: the importance of* locutorios**

Before the widespread use of MP and cheap prepaid SIM cards in the early 2000s, communication occurred from place to place. People who could not afford a landline phone at home, had to borrow or pay for one and usually set the time of communication in advance, in particular those persons living across different time zones, such as Ecuadorians. Pedro (57) remembered that during the six months his wife was alone in Barcelona before reunifying him, she used to call him from a *locutorio*. Since he did not have a telephone in

Ecuador, Pedro had to use his mother-in-law's, next to her house. Ana (42) also made phone calls to Ecuador regularly from the *locutorio*. She had come to Catalonia in 2001, leaving her son and daughter behind until she could reunify them two years afterwards: "As I worked as a live-in domestic, I called [them] when I went out on the weekends". Other interviewees recalled the difficulties they had to call family abroad in the early 2000s, when telephone booths in *locutorios* were scarce: "it was always crowded and you had to queue for three hours. (...) And when it was your turn, maybe people [in Ecuador] didn't answer!"

Later on, *locutorios* multiplied in number and acquired a strong presence in the Spanish urban landscape, especially in areas densely populated by migrants. They diversified their services and now, apart from telephone booths, most of them include computers with internet access, money transfer services and telecom products such as mobile handsets, and prepaid cards (SIM cards and scratch cards). They constitute a primary access point at various moments of diverse migrants' journeys, especially at arrival but also beyond, serving multiple purposes, including finding jobs and accommodation through a bulletin board. Many settled migrants who have not been able to subscribe to home internet services for various reasons (economic, legal, related to accommodation, etc.) continue to rely on *locutorios* to access computers with internet connection, printers and low-end communication options. In this sense, they have become part of their quotidian connectivity repertoire, with 26 out of the 30 people interviewed going regularly, especially −but not only− to make international calls. They alleged two key reasons: low prices and the possibility of controlling their expenses. International call rates have become cheaper in *locutorios* through the increasing use of VoIP technology[136]. Many interviewees expressed they could have long conversations with their relatives abroad without worrying too much about the bill. Inside each telephone booth, there is usually a small screen where users can see the minutes they talk and their corresponding cost while the conversation is taking place, what helps them to better control the costs of communication, as Maria explained: "I prefer to go to the *locutorio* where I talk a lot and I pay at the moment. You can control it,

[136] "Voice over Internet Protocol commonly refers to the communication protocols, technologies, methodologies, and transmission techniques involved in the delivery of voice communications and multimedia sessions over Internet Protocol (IP) networks, such as the Internet." (VoIP, 2012).

I'm looking at it". This is impossible when talking on the MP, which only allows users to check their credit before or after the call is made. For internet connection, *locutorios* offer the option to purchase the exact minutes of use (e.g. 15 minutes, 30 minutes, one hour, etc.) a period after which the connection is automatically over.

Mapping the frequency patterns of connectivity: ritual, crisis, and routine

Distance affects a crucial part of familyhood that is the quotidian, everyday experiences of family interaction, all that constitute *routines*. Together with *ritual* and *crisis*, *routine* constitutes one type of communication pattern in transnational caregiving (Baldassar 2007) that proved helpful in explaining different frequencies of connectivity. As mentioned in Chapter 2, an example of routine communication is given by "weekly phone calls" (Baldassar, 2007, p.394), while ritual communication is for special dates, like birthdays and anniversaries. Interviewees mentioned other important dates we can consider "rituals", according to the different cultural contexts. For Ecuadorians, it was important to greet family members in Mother's Day and Father's Day, as well as national celebrations, such as Independence Day. Moroccans expressed being especially sensitive about Ramadan, an annual celebration in the Islamic calendar in which they visit or send money and gifts to their families in Morocco.

When communicating with aging parents, interviewees expressed having specific days, times and frequency to make calls. It was different with young relatives who would often just 'appear' online, in a chat room or SNS, with whom communication occurred in more spontaneous, less patterned ways. Calling ageing parents regularly was conceived as part of being a good son or daughter, as this fragment of the interview with María (30) illustrates:

> Since I arrived here [in Catalonia] I have always called my mother every week. I mean, I am not one of those who call their family once a month, no, no. I do it every week or every ten days, but in a regular way (...) I feel closer to her and I feel fine (...) [when] calling her and listening to her.

According to Baldassar (2007), crisis "generally involves unexpected or unanticipated events or times of increased need" (2007, p.394). If routine broke for any reason, ageing parents would become easily worried and they would ask another son or daughter to find out why they did not call when it was expected:

> If I don't call her (...) after eight or ten days, my brother is calling me (...) he is sending me SMS... he says to me *Call mum, she wanna talk to you.* And my mother will cry [on the phone] and tell me *Darling, what happened that you haven't called me?!* Because she got used to the fact that I call her every week, so I have told her that if I don't call her one week, I will call her afterwards and that she shouldn't be worried (María).

Routine communication might generate high expectations to those who wait for a call (usually non-migrants) and a lot of pressure to those who are expected to make the call (usually migrants). Some years ago, Pedro (57) had some problems with the police for driving his motorbike under the effects of alcohol. He stopped calling to her mother in Ecuador for five months because he did not want to worry her, but his mother got very upset. Pedro would have liked that his mother was not so demanding:

> They should understand that if I don't call them it is because things went wrong (...) My mother tells me *At least call me!* (...) *at least if I listen to you I will stay calm down* (...) She worries about me, my other brother who is in Italy calls me and tells me that mum asks why I don't call her as much as he does!

Both Maria and Pedro had ageing mothers waiting a call and migrant brothers reminding them to do it, evidencing invisible mechanisms of control, responsibility and dependency at work in the network organization of scattered families. Pedro's crisis event resulted in absence and lack of communication. An inverse situation happened to Julio (20) who joined his father in Catalonia when he was only 16 years old, leaving his mother, sister and grandparents behind in Ecuador. He said that when he first arrived he would rarely call them, even if he missed them very much. Everything changed when he knew his grandfather was diagnosed with diabetes and he became really worried about him. Then he started calling to Ecuador every two or three days a week to know how he was evolving.

The definition of frequency patterns of connectivity across the lines of *routines*, *rituals* and *crisis* care was also present in interviewees' accounts of MT. Most interviewees were senders and had a monthly routine to cover ageing parents and children-s expenses in origin societies. Those who did not send money lacked a regular income because they were too young or unemployed. In one case, a Moroccan man who travelled regularly between his city of origin and Catalonia and took money to his elder mother in person, without intermediaries.

For Rachida (37), it was not enough to just call her mother and she agreed that, in particular money wires, contributed to strengthen family bonds, a practice she contextualized in the Moroccan tradition:

> As Arab or Moroccan, we generally send money during celebrations, to help the family (...) When you are in Morocco and you have a daughter in Spain, and suddenly she sends 200€ or 150€, you really feels that you have a daughter. But if your daughter never sends anything to you, even if she talks by the telephone (…) maybe you think *Well, she is not so close to me* or *She is not a true daughter*.

However, she also reflected on how excessively demanding attitudes of some non-migrant relatives put a lot of pressure on migrants-shoulders:

> There are some mothers –not mine– who, no matter how much [money] you send [to them], they always want more. And especially in our Moroccan mentality, there is the bad habit of thinking that here money grows on trees.[137] And when you have a relative in Spain and you are in Morocco [they think] *Oh, Spain!* They don't have any idea that you have to work [really hard].

Mustapha has sent the same amount of money to his mother in Morocco for 10 years, except in ritual occasions, when he increased it: "When the *Fiestas del cordero*[138] and Ramadan arrive, there are lots of expenses and I send a little more [money]. If I usually send 100€ per month, in these celebrations I send 200€ or 300€".

[137] *Translator Note (TN)*: In the original version of the interview in Spanish, she said "creen que aquí el dinero baja del cielo".

[138] *Fiesta del Cordero* is the Spanish name for Eid al-Adha or Feast of the Sacrifice, usually celebrated 70 days after the end of Ramadan (OED, 2013c)

Another example of ritual connectivity is when Gladys sent some money for her grandmother's birthday or on Mother's Day in Ecuador: "I might send between 100€ and 200€ (...) with this she can do a lot [of things] over there", she said while laughing at the great differences in purchasing power between Spain and Ecuador. She coordinated these special MT together with her mother and aunt who were also living in Catalonia and sent money to their ageing mother regularly, every month. The family had undergone difficult times when another of Gladys' aunts, who had also migrated to Spain, suddenly died due to a stomach disease, leaving two orphan children in Ecuador. Now they were living with Glady's grandmother and they needed help for affording daily expenses. On her birthday, the old lady waited for Glady's telephone call and played some music close to the receiver as a way of celebrating at a distance. Apart from ritual occasions, Gladys also called her on a routine basis: "it is as if she was my mother. I always call her to see how she feels, because she is sick".

Andrés (34), Wilson (40) and Juana (39) had young sons in Ecuador who were looked after by their other parent or grandparents. They all had strict routine patterns of connectivity, like weekly telephone calls and monthly remittances to cover their children's living expenses. Like other interviewees, they expressed having difficulties to keep on sending the same amounts of remittances in the last period due to unstable job conditions.

Maria said she tried to send money to her mother in Ecuador every month, mainly for health issues. She also sent her some medicines, although sometimes it got difficult to do it regularly:

> I always send her money (...) Let's say that one or two months I couldn't and I told her *Mum, I can't this month* (...) Some months I send more, others I send less. When I get more money, I send more to her.

Her husband Oscar also sent monthly remittances to his ageing parents but only for their extra expenses, since they were both working in the family business and had their own incomes. Pedro (57) said his mother already received economic support from his two sisters, all of them in Ecuador:

> I don't send more than 30 or 40 dollars because they see one is doing badly, so they

> don't tell me anything (...) But before, when things went all right, [I used to do it] from the heart: *Mommy, I send you this at least for you to have a Coke there, or for the telephone.* But now things are difficult here.

Apart from routines and rituals, crisis care might cause a sudden telephone call with an extraordinary request for money from family in origin. Oscar said he eventually had this kind of requests from his extended family, "When somebody is ill, maybe one of my nephews... and there [in Ecuador] you must paid for the health system so yes, I send them 50 dollars".[139] Gladys also showed commitment to help a non-migrant relative in need and emphasized that it was good that you could react quickly to an emergency: "The person asks for the money and she can have it in two hours time (...) be it grandma or anybody (...) an uncle... if he needs something, then you send it". She took precaution of checking if emergency calls were true: "I must ask another person in the family and at least get to know something, because if you are not there...". A bad experience with MT did happen to Noelia (34):

> They call you and tell you that there is some business... that someone is selling something you should buy, but then you send the money and they spend it in something else (...) Sometimes problems emerge because trust has been lost. And this is something that has happened to everybody, not only to me.

After some disappointments, she had some tricks to find out if it was a sincere request, at least with her sister: "Telephone does not convince me; I have to put the webcam and look at her, look into her eyes and realize that she is telling me the truth (laughs), that she is not fooling me!", she said.

8.2.3. Velocity

Digital technologies have allowed instant ways of connectivity in which responses can occur almost in real time. The velocity in the circulation of flows (of money, information, etc.) can have both positive and negative effects for people's experiences. For instance, earlier in this text, Gladys highlighted how good it was to have the possibility of sending money almost immediately after somebody in need had requested it. Other examples which

[139] The equivalent is 38,67€ (9/12/2012). Since 2000, the US dollar is the official currency in Ecuador.

evidence the implications of velocity and instant connectivity include practices of texting, the experience of time zone differences and the management of bad news.

Firstly, texting or Short Message Service (SMS) was not very popular among various interviewees mainly because it took too long to write them and another while to wait for the answer. “It’s not practical enough”, said Moroccan woman Habiba (40) while Yolanda (38) argued “I don’t know if they read my message right away”. Gladys (23) could text while working in the kitchen of the restaurant but she concluded that “it is better to call, it is faster”. The broad literature of MP use has shown the popularity of SMS in specific cultural contexts, such as the Philippines (Pertierra, Ugarte, Pingol, Hernandez, & Dacanay, 2002) and particular age groups, such as teenagers (Ling, 2000). In migrant contexts, however, this might acquire different connotations, depending on specific communicative needs.

Secondly, the velocity involved in instant communication implied being attentive to time zone differences in order to contact people at the appropriate moment. This concern particularly affected Ecuadorian interviewees because, on average, in their country of origin it was six hours earlier than in Spain. For example, in order to call his family in Guayaquil, Julio (20) explained: “I know more or less the time everybody is still awake, and around 10 o'clock at night I know they have already had dinner and everything, so I call then when they are all together”. Sometimes he called from his Blackberry, others from the *locutorio*, depending on his mood: sometimes he preferred to pay more expensive call rates but feel free to call anytime he wanted to from the comfort of his home.

Thirdly, high speed communication has instant impact on people’s lives so there is a greater awareness on how to better manage personal information flows. A good example is when there are bad news (e.g. care deficits, illnesses, legal problems, debts, etc.), which result difficult to manage at a distance from the location of both migrants and non-migrants. Julio got to know about his grandfather's disease, and also about troubles with his younger brother in Ecuador who was almost taken to a reformatory, but he did not want to tell his family in Ecuador if something went wrong with him:

> When something bad happened here [in Spain], I don't tell them [in Ecuador] because all the family worries, they become nervous and I don't like it (…) but I do want them to tell me the bad news, so I can be ready to help.

Other interviewees also said they preferred to hide bad news to their distant beloved ones because they did not want to worry them. They also knew that this occurred the other way round. Two young Moroccan women said they relied on their respective sisters to talk about their concerns. Aziza (20) said "[My parents] always hide bad news so I don't suffer (...) but I talk [about it] with my older sister who is like a friend". Malika (25) confessed that she did not tell her parents all the truth about her new life in Reus:

> I hide a lot of things... I don't want them to know that I am sad or that I am bored. I do it all the time: I say that I am ok, that it is very nice here and I just not let them think about me a lot. They are my parents and they care about me (...) The same thing for them too (...) when my mother says that she is sick or something.... It makes me very sad because I am very far from her, to help her or to see her, so this is the hard part.

These accounts about the negative impact that "high speed communicative interactions" (Ros, 2010, p.34) might involve is tightly related to the ways of experiencing distant relationships, as we will see in the next section. Moreover, these examples show that caregiving is not unidirectional, from migrants to non-migrants, but it circulates in multiple directions. Even when migrants might be the ones who make the call and send remittances, they look for the support and love of their closest relatives and/or friends. This reality is more complex than the one represented in MPs and MTs ads, which tend to passivize non-migrants as the eternal receivers: of calls, money, love, attention and happiness.

8.2.4. Impact

A defining feature of migrants' lives and patterns of connectivity is the management of relationships at a distance. Leaving beloved people behind, sometimes for a long period of time, tends to be a painful experience that causes lot of suffering and nostalgia, especially immediately after the migratory travel. However, contemporary ICT have introduced radical changes in the ways distance is experienced in migratory contexts, since the availability of instant communication has the potential to make journeys easier through more information and people less uprooted through more communication. As time

passes by, people learn to cope with physical separation, to keep in touch, to care and be cared *at* -and *despite*- distance. When distance is assumed as part of everyday life, physical absence is compensated by virtual presence –also referred to as "connected presence" (Licoppe, 2004)– with all the opportunities, risks and complexities it involves. In this section, I propose to focus on three thematic strands that emerged from the interviews with migrants about their experiences of distant relationships and the ways of "creat[ing] a sense of proximity" (Ros, 2010, p.34): the implications of reachability, different forms of trans/national care giving and the power of images.

Reachability

Reachability has to do with being available "anytime, anywhere", in relation to both work life and social life. With MP, people have become increasingly reachable and involved in all kinds of "micro-coordination" (Ling & Yttri, 2002) activities. This is especially valued when depending on informal labor markets (e.g. domestic workers and the construction sector), in which people need to be well connected and always available in case a new job opportunity arises, or to be available for the current boss (a situation sometimes might turn into control practices).

In geographically scattered families it is always important to reach and be reachable for each other. As a device that offers placeless communication ((Kopomaa, 2000), MP make this dynamic possible, no matter where persons might be (as far as there is signal coverage). Most interviewees remembered that once in Catalonia they would first make phone calls to their family of origin to tell them they arrived all right. Aziza (20) remembered that her parents in Morocco were very worried because it was her first trip abroad, so she called them first, and then she continued to call them regularly. Oscar (30) said: "The first thing I did was going to a *locutorio* to say I had arrived OK. Secondly, I bought a MP so they could call me from there [Ecuador] to here [Catalonia]".

However, reachability is not unlimited and is managed by users to their own convenience, for example, by activating the silence mode of the MP, or not replying back a SMS or call immediately. This management of one's virtual presence also happened in CMC,

as Maria's account illustrates: "Many times that I'm in a hurry, I choose my Messenger state as disconnected... some days you wanna chat and others you don't".

Transnational connectivity as a form of care giving

TFC constitutes a basic need for both migrants and non-migrants to provide caregiving at a distance, together with other resources such as visiting and financial support (Baldassar, 2007; Merla, 2010). Each modality, however, is fulfilled under diverse conditions and possibilities, involving the intertwining of economic and emotional costs, as well as opportunities.

Visiting is usually desired but not always possible due to legal barriers, budget constraints to afford long trips or aging parents with limited mobility. In most cases, interviewees' parents and grandparents remained in origin societies and did not visit their relatives abroad. There were some exceptions among interviewees in which grandmothers travelled regularly, but it was not a common trend. Fatiha (21)'s mother used to live with her in Reus and travelled regularly back and forth to Morocco, until she stayed in Morocco; Andrés (34)'s mother moved from Ecuador to live in Catalonia; and Karina (19)'s grandmother travelled between Ecuador, Catalonia and Italy, living some months in each place in order to perform grandmothering with her transnationally scattered family.

Both Moroccan and Ecuadorian interviewees faced diverse difficulties to make regular visits to their families of origin. The former had fewer kilometres to travel between Catalonia and their regions of origin, but suffered from higher rates of unemployment that limited their budgets and problems for renewing their residence permits also impacted negatively on their ability to travel freely across borders. But some of them could travel once or twice year to spend holidays or special celebrations. The latter, however, had to afford more expensive tickets and had more sporadic visits to Ecuador. Oscar (30), who has lived in Catalonia with his wife for 12 years and had small daughters, showed some concern about his aging parents, because he had not been able to visit them in Ecuador in six years time. Although he talked with them every weekend from the *locutorio* telephone booth, he highlighted the importance of being physically together as they were getting older: "With the family and brothers the telephone might be enough, but you always want to visit your

parents (...) to see them face to face, because they are old and some day they may be gone", he said. The fear of aging parents dying far away also hovered Ana (42), whose father always reminded her on the phone, so she preferred talking with her mother: "I hardly ever talk with my father...very little, because he is always [asking about] when we are going to go back, that by the time I go there, he will die".

Limited mobility at both origin and destination societies had important implications for the construction of familyhood. On the one hand, mediated communication acquired an extremely important role and people highly appreciated the sense of closeness it provided and the possibility of crafting a "present absence", paraphrasing Gergen (2002). On the other hand, everybody agreed that ICT could never replace family co-presence. Aziza (20) warned that "if you talk too much on the internet and the telephone, maybe you don't go to visit them". Youssef (45) was the interviewee who visited Morocco more often, every two or three months, for issues related to his work in a migrants' association and to visit his ageing mother. He agreed that "it could happen that you call your family instead of paying a visit". But for people who could not travel back and forth regularly, like Gladys, ICT were basic resources: "It is the only way in which I can talk with them: through the Internet or by the telephone (...) Otherwise, I would not have that chance". She only travelled back to Ecuador once, in 2008, seven years after her arrival in Catalonia, and she was planning to go at the moment of the interview in 2011.

Some interviewees stated that the persistence of distance generated frustration and sadness to them. Many of these opinions were expressed after commenting upon some advertising pieces that emphasized how MP and MT apparently make people feel closer. Some young interviewees who came to Catalonia as small children and were living with their parents, missed their extended families that remained in origin countries. Fatiha (21) has lived outside Morocco for eight years with her parents and six brothers and sisters. She kept in touch with her cousins through Messenger and Facebook, and she made regular phone calls to her grandmother from the *locutorio*, but it was not enough: "You always feel far away. The more I talk on the phone, the further away I feel ...because feelings emerge, and you miss [them] more". Similarly, a 20 year-old Ecuadorian woman, who also lived with her

parents and brother in Catalonia but missed her grandparents, cousins, aunts and uncles, reflected on the incompleteness of TFC:

> Honestly, sometimes we are too isolated 'cause... there are things you cannot know, even if you want to (...) the short time we talk by the phone is not enough to catch up on each other's news, but at least you can know if they are ok, if they don't have health problems, if they need something (...) But you lose everyday life things (...), sharing moments [with them].

The power of images in TFC

Images were highly appreciated in TFC, with their effect of making people feel closer to each other. When age, literacy and technological equipment were not a barrier to the communicative event, visual cues were important to convey emotions and affects in real time. "When you talk [on the phone] with somebody you really love, it is like getting closer (…) and much more if it is through the Internet, if you see them", summarized Wilson (40). Increasingly, mobile internet allows holding videoconferences through the MP, but in interviewees' experiences this was not an extended practice and computers and webcams were still the most used devices. Many interviewees also shared videos and photographs with their families and relatives located far away, through email and SNS. The most recently arrived interviewee, Malika (25), said she enjoyed shooting videos of her new environment with her modern MP device: "I like a lot of things here [in Reus] like festivals and (...) concerts, so I enjoy making [videos] and sending them to my sister [in Morocco]". Since she did not have mobile internet, she downloaded the videos to a computer and sent them through email. These accounts reflect the powerful effect images have to overcome the negative feelings of distance. However, some interviewees highlighted that seeing each other did not necessarily imply abolishing distance. When Julio turned on the webcam to talk with her mother in Ecuador, he said he did not feel closer: "I just feel that she is more aware of me… that she knows how I'm doing". Moreover, the limit of the computer screen might work as a reminder of separation, as this Ecuadorian young woman illustrated when talking about her little nephews:

> When I see them through the internet, I have them so close, but I cannot touch them... I feel they are close to me (...) I look at them, how grown up they are, how

they have changed [but I feel] very bad. I feel like going there now, being there even if my main family is here [in Spain].

8.3. Stormy Relationships? Dealing with Providers of Connectivity Services

The fact that many migrants have more economic resources than their non-migrant counterparts and that communication from Spain to countries of origin is cheaper than the other way round, does not mean that migrants do not look after their budgets. Most interviewees showed concern on the costs of connectivity services, in particular communication through MP, a situation highly conditioned by precarious employments and low incomes, which have led to a continuous search for low-cost options to keep in touch despite difficulties. This has resulted into a particular configuration of commercial relationships with the intermediaries of connectivity, that is, the private actors that provide the services they need. MP use is highly determined by the tariffs per minute set by providers as well as the special offers they temporarily have to attract new customers. These shape migrants' relationships with providers and, at the same time, make providers improve their offers continuously. In this section, I look at these relationships through various thematic strands, namely, migrant users' reading of purposively selected ads, their MP appropriation strategies, their access to mobile internet, their changes of providers in search of the best offer and their preferences for doing MT.

8.3.1. Mobile phone appropriation strategies

Given the importance of voice communication and the high costs of MP calls, migrants developed various appropriation strategies to keep in touch despite financial constraints. These strategies involved a low-cost use of the MP in combination with other personal media, like CMC, and points of access, like *locutorios*.

MP cannot be isolated from other personal media. Apart from increasingly becoming a convergent media itself, its use is embedded in an ecosystem of various communicative resources. In the previous sections I showed how differences in literacy, age technological equipment and mood influenced people's communicative repertoires and appropriation strategies. I will dedicate this section to identify such strategies in more detail, considering at least five practices that emerged from migrants' accounts, namely

prepaid subscriptions, multiple MP ownership, customized landline phone use, family strategies and blocked services.

1. Prepaid subscriptions

The commercial relationship between MP users and providers can base on a postpaid or a prepaid subscription. The former fits intensive mobile phone use, requiring users to sign a contract with the provider for 36 months approximately and pay a fixed monthly rate. In exchange, they get slightly cheaper prices per minute in their calls and subsidized brand new terminals. The latter allows user to have a better control of their expenses, on a "pay as you go" basis. From all interviewees, Ecuadorian women outstood as users of postpaid services (seven out of eight) in comparison with men from the same origin and Moroccan men and women. This could be related to their levels of employability and the consequent economic independence it implies, as most Ecuadorian women were working and afforded their own technological expenses. Many of the men I interviewed were unemployed and this impacted on their choices as MP users, causing them to prefer prepaid services as a way of controlling their expenses. Mohamed (37) said: "I used to have a [MP] contract but not now; I used to have a job". Ali (34) explained: "I can't sign a contract because of the money...Not only because of that...because I don't always use the phone, only sometimes".

Various interviewees who had had post-paid subscriptions before have changed them for prepaid ones; others were planning to do so. Pedro had had a post-paid subscription with the same company since he arrived in Catalonia, eight years ago. But some unexpected expensive bills and the loss of his permanent job as a building worker prevented him from affording the accumulated debt. In the end, he decided to get a prepaid SIM card with a virtual operator to make calls in a controlled manner. Although he stopped making calls from the post-paid MP number, he used it for receiving calls, especially from potential job offers, and wanted to keep it because most people knew how to reach him that way. María had a post-paid subscriptions that allowed her to get a modern MP without extra costs. At the moment of the interview, however, this subscription was about to expire and she was planning to change it for a prepaid one that helped her to limit her MP use:

> Sometimes I spend too much on the phone and it gets expensive (...) I prefer to avoid this and to have prepaid, which I put `x' amount of money per month and I know I can't talk anymore because I run out of credit to call. Otherwise, if you have the line [the post-paid service] you receive the bill and you say *Oh my God*![140]

Karen (19) was one of the few interviewees who was able to privilege comfort over costs. She had had a prepaid subscription with Vodafone that she topped up with 5€ each time, but it did not work for her:

> I usually asked for credits in advance[141] so they took me away the credits I owed and in the end, every time I got a 5€ top-up I really had 2€ or 3€. That always made me upset (...) it was not practical enough as when you call and then at the end of the month see the final bill.

She admitted this way it was easier to lose control over the expenses, but she preferred it to the top-ups: "They exasperated me!" she exclaimed, and then she imitated an annoying and robotic operator's voice who announced "*You are running out of credit*".

In the case of the Moroccan women, most of them depended on their husbands' income, including their MP expenses. Rachida (37), the only Moroccan woman in the sample who had a job (part time) at the moment of the interview, explained that prepaid service fitted her communication needs better because she did not like making many telephone calls. However, she also pointed out that her user behaviour was conditioned by economic costs too:

> If I had a salary of, let's say, more than 2000€, I could talk [on the phone] every day with my sister, with my friend, with whoever, and I wouldn't notice the costs of the call. But if I get little money, I must pay the rent, the electricity and water supplies and all the other expenses, then the priority won't be the mobile phone!

Fatiha (21), who used three different MP handsets, each one with a different prepaid service, argued: "Top-ups give me more freedom". She took advantage of subsidized handsets but continued to keep her first MP number. She was one of the various

[140] *T.N.* In the Spanish version, the interviewee said "¡gua! ¡Madre mía!"

[141] In Spain, this service is called "anticipo de saldo". In U.K. it is called the "Vodafone IOU". It is a service for prepaid customers who can borrow a small amount of credits from the company and pay them back in the next top-up with a small charge.

interviewees who owned multiple MP, another extended appropriation strategy.

2. Multiple SIM cards and/or handsets ownership

A common strategy of MP appropriation consisted in having different SIM cards and/or handsets, taking advantage of the numerous discounts offered by competing service providers, for making both national and international calls. In the interviews, I identified three reasons why people handled multiple devices and/or subscriptions: first, the ownership of a second SIM card to make cheaper international calls; secondly, a mother's need to monitor her small children when they had to stay alone in the house; and thirdly, the need to manage separate bills for personal and professional uses. The two last cases were exceptional among interviewees, while the first one was more widespread and in direct relation with the continuous changes in prices and plans offered by telecom providers, which in turn matched low-income users' continuous search for the cheapest services.

The first case included people who owned a second SIM card to call abroad, such as Andrés and Habiba. At least five out of the 30 interviewees said they had two MP: one for making national calls in Spain (postpaid or prepaid) and another one with a prepaid service from another company to make international calls. Habiba (40) was happy to have a second SIM card to call her parents, sister and friends in Morocco whenever she needed to: "It is more comfortable. I can call whenever I want to and it is not necessary to go out in the street [to go to a *locutorio*]", she explained. Andrés also had two MP and was one of the few who owned a Smartphone. He had a post-paid subscription with a major carrier that offered free national calls after 6pm, useful to contact his friends and family in Spain. Apart from this modern handset with internet based services, he had another older one with a SIM card from a small carrier that offered better prices for calls to Ecuador. He used this MP exclusively to call people there, especially his 16 years-old son with whom he talked once a week. For him, having two devices was very convenient and not necessarily an extravagance, as it was for one of his colleagues who owned four MP with four different SIM card providers.

The second case of multiple SIM card and MP ownership echoes what Rakow and Navarro (1993) called "remote mothering". When María needed to go out and his husband was not at home, she left her small daughters aged 14 months and eight years equipped with an old MP to talk with her while she is absent: "a couple of hours the most, and I call them: *how are you?*, *what are you doing?* (...) *how is the girl?"* Since she got a modern device not long ago, she used her oldest MP for these occasions. "Otherwise it is always off (...) I was going to throw it away but in the end, it was useful!", she explained.

The third case of multiple SIM card and MP ownership was illustrated by Youssef, who had three different handsets with post-paid subscriptions with the three main carriers in the Spanish market: Movistar, Vodafone and Orange. Each of them had a specific purpose: one was for personal use, another for work activities and a third for activities related to the migrant association he participated in. He tried to take advantage of each company's special offers (such as cheap calls at specific times of day), although he said this multiple MP ownership also made it difficult for him to control his expenses. During the interview, he drafted complicated calculations on a bar's paper napkin with the tariffs he was paying in each subscription. His explanations were nuanced by "I think", "It seems to me", "I'm not sure, but". In the end, he concluded that users must look very carefully what they spend and what providers charge them for: "Companies give tricky information; tricky but legal. And if you don't know what it is all about, then it catches you quickly", he added. Despite the separation of purposes for each device, Youssef explained that at the moment of choosing which one to use, he privileged low-cost communication:

> Sometimes, if there is a mobile that has free calls at certain times, like Orange, that between 9am and 1pm it's for free, then I move the communication from one mobile to the other. Or when it is a long communication, I use Vodafone, 90 for 1[142] (…) So I do a personal management of the three MP.

If he called his mother or another person in Morocco, he used the landline phone: "Because it is cheaper. Landline to landline".

[142] "90x1" is a special offer for Vodafone customers to pay only the cost of the call set-up fee and the first minute of a conversation that can last up to 90 minutes (Vodafone, 2013b).

3. Landline phones: few, blocked and "scratched"

Landline telephone subscriptions have decreased considerably worldwide after the arrival of the MP (ITU, 2011), which rapidly substituted them or offered telecommunication services for the first time to many people who lived in contexts of poverty where landline phone had been previous unaffordable or inexistent (Castells et al., 2007).

In the group of interviewees, half the people owned a landline phone and Ecuadorians (11) doubled Moroccans (5). There were people who used to have it but now had to cancel their subscriptions, mainly for economic reasons. Other reasons included that it was not perceived as something useful any more, like this young Moroccan woman said about her own family, composed of her parents and six brothers and sisters "Now, each of us have a MP and nobody uses [the landline telephone]" (Fatiha, 21). Her mother Khadija added another reason to cancel the landline phone subscription: "Some time ago we had it, but not now because my son talks too much (...) to Morocco and everywhere!", she laughed. Ana (42) had a similar problem with her 22 year-old son who called so much to Ecuador that the bills were unaffordable. In the end, she kept the landline but only for national communications and asked her telecom provider to block the international calls.

Some interviewees preferred calling abroad with prepaid international cards, also known as scratch cards**,** especially those who still had fixed telephones at home. These cards provide limited airtime purchase by dialling a PIN code. Various interviewees valued them positively in terms of economic and time convenience, like a young Ecuadorian woman expressed it: "They are very convenient, especially when you wanna call during the night from home, when *locutorios* are closed" (Karina, 19). Gladys also used them for these reasons, in order to call her grandmothers or cousins in Ecuador:

> As I arrive home at night, the only thing at hand is the [scratch] card, and calling from the MP is too expensive (...) If you talk for four minutes, they charge you 4€, 1€ per minute! On the contrary, the card costs 6€ and you can talk even half an hour from landline phone to landline phone. If it is [a call] to a MP number, then it runs out more quickly.

She has tried various providers and she found that all of them "steal minutes", but it was still cheaper than MP. A big drawback of scratch cards is fraud, because the

marketplace of prepaid international cards is hard to regulate, new brands appear as quickly as they disappear and usually draw on tricky advertisement that promises more minutes to call than the actual ones used. This has been experienced by several of the people interviewed for this research, causing dissatisfaction and distrust.

Mustapha also had landline phone at home which he used mainly "to call other landline phone numbers" which have no cost for users and sometimes with scratch cards to call abroad: "they cost 5€ and you can talk one hour to Morocco". Calls to MP from the landline were more restricted and conditioned by the provider's politics of prices: "we can call MP numbers on Saturdays and Sundays when we don't pay [for the call] because we have a special tariff (…) there are also special offers [to call to Morocco] but we usually call from the *locutorio* because it is cheaper", he explained.

4. Family strategies

Family strategies imply coordination and sharing of one MP between members, collaborating with each other to accomplish better access to a service, mainly in terms of price convenience. Some of them were stimulated by carriers, like the so called "family plans" in which calls between people with the same provider are only charged for the call set-up fee and not for the duration of the talk. When asked why she had chosen her MP provider, Gladys explained: "because my boyfriend also had the same [company] so this way we have fewer expenses". Alicia (18) used to have a prepaid subscription with one company but she "had some problems" and wanted to change provider. In the end, she inherited a SIM card: "All my brothers had [this carrier] and it was cheaper (...) I got this card from one of my brothers, he used to have this number", she explained.

Other family strategies did not fit with companies' business models, especially those that implied sharing devices, making missed calls and swapping SIM cards. When Mustapha and his family in Reus wanted to call abroad but did not have a scratch card at hand, they used a second SIM card in his wife's MP: "you get the 5€ top-up each time, and when we want to call to Morocco, we change my wife's card and put the other". As I mentioned in chapter 2, this appropriation strategy in particular was called "creolization"

and it consists in "swapping SIM cards to gain access to a different network" (Bar et al., 2007).

Sharing devices and making missed calls are common in some African and Latin American countries, as documented by various authors (Bar et al., 2007; Sey, 2009). However, they were not common practices among interviewees, except from a few occasions in which it had very specific purposes. Sara (30) had a prepaid subscription –"because I do not use the MP that much"– and she usually made missed calls to her husband who had a post-paid subscription in order to call her back and avoid running out of credits too quickly. Another Moroccan woman with prepaid subscription used her husband's post-paid service from time to time, together with her daughter and two sons aged between 18 and 23: "I top-up the [SIM] card every six months,[143] because my husband has a contract and all of us take advantage of calling from his MP. With one contract bill [in the family] we have enough" (Habiba, 40).

In another case, an Ecuadorian family shared a mobile device only for making international calls: parents used their 19 year-old daughter' Smartphone to call abroad because her plan was not expensive in relation to the comfort of calling from their home.

5. Blocking services

Blocking services that were technologically available was another appropriation strategy in which users took certain decisions to control their expenses and limit providers' profits. I previously mentioned some cases of interviewees who blocked different services. Wilson did so with the international calls from his MP to avoid excessive bills when he could not control the lengths of his conversations. Ana had also blocked this service but from her landline phone to prevent his son from making too many international calls. She also blocked the Internet connection from her own mobile device because according to her, the touch-screen activated applications she could not pay for. María also did without mobile internet: "My MP is digital and has a camera (...) [but] we have blocked internet because I already have it at home".

[143] This is the estimated maximum period a carrier gives its customers to top-up a SIM card before cancelling the line.

Most interviewees had modern devices with touch-screens, thanks to the politics of carriers to subsidize terminals when customers chose postpaid subscriptions. The handsets had the technical possibility of having mobile internet connection, though very few would actually afford this service.

8.3.2. Mobile internet: always online?

When considering interviewees' accounts, there were different levels of access and use of mobile internet. Only eight out of 30 migrants interviewed had mobile internet and their access and uses were highly stratified: from Said who `got' a free Wi-Fi signal in his neighbourhood or Alicia who borrowed it from her friends' devices, to Youssef, Andrés, Kati and Micaela who were always connected through their own multiple devices. The limited access most migrants had to mobile internet has its roots in low budgets, as these services are still expensive for people who, in many cases, still have basic mobile handsets and heavily rely on prepaid subscriptions and limited uses.

The category "MP users" is not homogeneous but full of nuances that increase with the commercialization of new devices and applications and the consequent stratification of users who access to or use the latest gadgets in all their functionalities, and those who do not. In Table 8.2, I propose a rough classification of MP users that aims to illustrate, at least partially, their diversity. The vertical axis distinguishes between basic, medium and advanced users depending on the kind of handset they own (represented in the horizontal axis) and the possibilities for having internet connection. This mapping also tries to acknowledge recent shifts experienced by MP "from telecommunications to media" (Goggin & Hjorth, 2009), that is, the increasing transformation of MP into personal media devices where bundles of multimedia applications and services have converged.

The basic level of use corresponds to people who have old handsets, mostly with prepaid subscriptions and use them for traditional telecommunication activities: making and receiving phone calls and SMS. In particular, various Ecuadorian men who worked in the construction sector argued they preferred basic handsets to modern ones because they resisted better their working conditions. They also recognized that they had a limited budget so they could only afford basic devices and services, a situation shared by many

other interviewees. The only female user in this group was a young student who lacked incomes of her own and depended on her mother to top up her MP credits. This situation of economic dependency was shared by some Moroccan women who, despite having modern handsets, had no subscriptions to access mobile internet, like Naima (34) and Khadija (43). I considered medium level users those who did not use mobile internet but were able to make, download and share images (photos and videos), such as María (30), Malika (25) and Nilo (43).

Table 8.2. Diversity of mobile phone users' profiles. Own elaboration.[144]

telecommunication	internet connection possibilities		
levels of use	1G (no internet)	2G (low/medium speed)	3G...(broadband)
basic	phone calls, SMS	phone calls, SMS, make pictures/videos, no download, internet blocked	phone calls, SMS, make, download, exchange pictures/videos, internet blocked
	Alicia, Oscar, Wilson, Pedro, Roberto, Ali, Mohamed, Ahmed	*Naima, Khadija*	*Rachida, Habiba, Ana, Gladys, Noelia, Yolanda, Aziza, Sara*
medium		phone calls, SMS, make/download/exchange pictures/videos, Bluetooth, internet blocked	minimum internet use (email, GPS)
		María, Malika, Nilo	*Julio, Juana, Mustapha, Fatiha*
advanced			regular and intense use of mobile internet based services (TV, email, chat, SNS, download and exchange all file formats)
			Karen, Andrés, Micaela, Youssef, Said
			media

Many interviewed people said they did not need mobile internet subscriptions because they could access from their homes. Others made a limited use of it, for particular purposes or from specific places, making mobility in the urban space a conditioning variable. Habiba (40) said that if she needed to look at something in particular from the street, she

[144]This table is based on an idea proposed by Dr. Adela Ros for a co-authored paper presented at the kick-off meeting of the MASELTOV project in Barcelona, 26-27th April 2012.

would use her son's connection, which constituted another example of a family strategy to share technological resources. She had a modern MP but no internet: "My youngest son has it and use it a lot, but I don't like it. The screen is too small (...) I prefer accessing the internet from the computer", she said.

Mustapha (39) used mobile internet everyday but only if he was not at home or at his hairdresser salon, where he had computers with internet connection: "Sometimes, when I'm on the street, I look at new pieces of information, news, from Facebook". Juana (39) only used it to look for directions if she was lost on the street. She said she wanted to avoid expensive bills so she preferred to use the internet from her home as well. Fatiha (21) shared this concern and stated: "If I connect [to the Internet] outside, it is for something in particular, not to look at my Facebook".

By contrast, intensive mobile internet users connected various times a day for multiple purposes, both instrumental (e.g. information search) and for leisure (e.g. music, videos and games). Said (20) said he connected to the internet daily: "to navigate, discover the world, in particular with the MP; I use computers more for using programs". Youssef was also an intense user, a condition he related to his work in a migrants' association in Reus: "I'm always connected; I represent an association so I try to solve people's problems… I always take the MP (…) [for] calls or emails".

For many interviewees, having mobile internet access implied being continuously online. "I have everything in my mobile (...) the radio, emails, Mp3", said Andrés, who added "from my mobile I do everything: make and receive calls, connect to the internet, chat, send and receive emails and read the news". He does not have internet at home but he solved it with the mobile phone: "I connect it to my computer and while charging the batteries I can transfer the internet connection to the computer". Micaela (20) said she checked her Facebook account all day long: "because there is internet at home and in my mobile, it is never disconnected". Since she got her Smartphone, she has called and texted less frequently: "now everything is included in the internet [connection] (...) it is much cheaper". Intense users could benefit from mobile internet based communication through emails, SNS and Whatsapp, which are cheaper than traditional calls and SMS because they are charged

for the volumes of data exchanged (measured in mega or gigabytes) and not per unit or minute. Karen (19) also used her Smartphone mainly for being online: "If it is for the internet, I use it at least ten times a day. If it is for calling, maybe two or three times a day". She differentiated between her use of the computer and the MP as follows: "I use the MP when I'm on the street and I get bored, and I use the computer at home. I don't use the MP when I'm at home".

8.3.3. Dealing with MP companies: in search of the best deal

The interviews with migrants included questions about whether companies offered accurate information about their services and which were interviewees' experiences as users. Like numerous users of non-migrant origin, migrants also suffered from abusive practices carried by the companies.[145] What I found particularly surprising was migrants' deep and updated knowledge on the different companies and offers, which usually tempted them to change providers, either from MNO to MVNO – a general trend in the Spanish market lately (CMT, 2011)– or between MNO. As one interviewee who changed network providers several times in search of the best deal observed, "we are always looking for special offers".

There are two main directions for the communication between suppliers and users: when the former approach the latter (mainly through advertising, direct marketing and telemarketing) or the other way round. In the first case, the race for increasing subscriptions has made companies to call their own customers to offer new tariffs, more services and newer devices. Khadija expressed she felt confused when companies say they will give her "more minutes or something like that". Companies also call other providers' customers in order to convince them of changing. Maria still received calls from her old provider: "They call me to offer me all this and heaven too,[146] but I don't want to hear anything from them", she laughed. She often changed companies to get the best deal: "I'm always changing... I

[145] See the reference I made in Chapter 3, Section 3.4, to the numerous complains of MP users.

[146] *TN:* "me llaman para ofrecerme el oro y el moro".

have already tried the three main ones….I tried Amena[147], then Movistar, Vodafone and now Orange (...) but always with the same number (...) I've changed 'cause I see that this company is cheaper". Her husband Oscar complained that companies "lie a lot because they tell you *Here is cheaper, cheaper!* But in the end, when the bill arrives, it is extremely expensive (...) they put conditions that at first seem easy to fulfil, but then they are not".

The other possible direction in the communication between suppliers and users is when migrants call the companies' customer services. These experiences ranged from satisfaction to frustration. "I complained once because the bill was not ok (...) but they spoke to me nicely and solved my problem", remembered Gladys, one of the few interviewees who were satisfied with this kind of communication.

Unexpected bulged bills were an unpleasant experience shared by various interviewees and the main cause for complaining first, and then changing provider. Alicia did so after she was charged for receiving SMS she had not subscribed to. Her old provider continued calling her after she cancelled her subscription in order to convince her to make a new one. Julio complained to his provider after he got a 120€ bill he rejected to pay: "I did not make the calls but they insisted I called a lot". He cancelled that postpaid subscription and wanted to make a new one with another provider without losing his number. It was a tiring process and his connection was cut for a while: "Each one bounced my complaint as if it were a ball". Fatiha had a similar experience when she called the customer service because there were problems with her mobile internet connection: "I lost a lot of time because they passed me from one operator to another one, in the end I got angry and I hanged up (...) I think I will change company because this is not worthy".

Mustapha changed companies three times and was planning a fourth one at the moment of the interview: "because the tariffs are getting expensive again", he explained. For him, it has not been easy to cancel his MP subscriptions "You must call [the company] and they derive you to other extensions, then you must wait 15 days… it is very difficult (…)

[147] Amena is a MVNO in Spain operated by Orange. It was first launched in 1998 by Retevisión Móvil S.A. and bought by Orange in 2002. In June 2012, it was re-launched in order to compete with so called "unlimited call rates (...) offered by low cost operators like Yoigo, Tuenti (Telefónica) (...) MásMovil or Pepephone" (Muñoz, 2012).

we have had lots of problems".

Youssef was one of the few interviewees who said he did not change companies, but this was mainly because he had three MP with different companies: "As I have the three [main] providers already, if there were any special offer, they should give it to me".

8.3.4.Talking back: migrants' reading of ads

The joint reading of ads was a rich experience within the interview format, activating new reflections in informants' responses that had not been covered or raised by the more traditional questionnaire. As detailed in Chapter 1, Section 1.3, this activity consisted in showing interviewees a folder with photographs of 12 purposively selected outdoor advertising pieces in order to talk freely about the images and messages they saw. I asked them some open questions in order to guide the reading, namely: What do you think of this ad? Do you like it? Do you feel identified with the represented characters and situations? Do they remind you of any person you know?

Most interviewees were not sensitive to print advertising campaigns regarding their purchase choices. Instead, their decisions were based on personal networks: close family and friends in Spain who would recommend them to use their favourite provider. There were exceptions, like Mustapha, who said he did not trust information by word of mouth and preferred looking for special offers online and in the posters at *locutorios*. Andrés (34) was among the few respondents who expressed interest and previous knowledge on print and outdoor ads as a source of information to compare and check the best rates: "I always stop for a little while at the posters in the *locutorios*, in the bus stops (...) out of curiosity, you know? And I read them in case something interests me".

Other interviewees recognized a few of the 12 ads I showed to them but were not particular interested in them, except from the information on prices, which were especially emphasized in MP ads. "You always look at the prices, in particular nowadays that there is a crisis", pointed out Youssef. This led to some confusion because my selection of ads included pieces from previous years which prices did not correspond to the moment of the interview. People focused on the prices and commented on them (if they were accurate, too good or too bad) until I explained they were outdated. Although I knew prices were especially

important for low-income customers, I had never anticipated so many interviewees would focus exclusively on prices, ignoring the suggestive photographs and slogans I analyzed in Chapter 6.

Apart from the price issue, each person elaborated different readings based on their own experience, with the open questions as a guide. In these exchanges, two other topics deserve special attention: interviewees' attitudes towards the commercial representations of their national or regional identities, and their feelings about the sense of closeness the commercial messages promised despite geographical distance.

As mentioned in the methodological Chapter 3, people's reading of the selected ads can be roughly organized according to Hall's reading positions: hegemonic, oppositional and negotiated. It is important to take into account that, language skills and educational level conditioned many people's responses because the interpretation work I asked for proved to be a more complex task than talking about everyday practices. In the case of the Moroccan interviewees, it also depended on their ability to express fluently in Spanish, Catalan or English. Although it is not possible to establish causal explanations −it is beyond the scope and aim of this research−, people with higher education tended to analyze the ads beyond the surface and develop a more critical thinking,[148] being especially critical towards the ads and elaborating oppositional readings.

Reactions to the commercial representation of national identities

National identities were present in the ads through the use of visual and verbal elements like national colors, flags, names of countries and ethnic characters. Some Ecuadorian interviewees associated the national orientation of the ads with a positive attitude towards the presence of Ecuadorians in Spain. In this context, these constituted dominant or hegemonic readings because they fit with the message encoded by the advertiser. Thus Alicia (18) expressed that she liked ads that refer to Ecuadorians in Spain

[148] "Critical thinking includes the component skills of analyzing arguments, making inferences using inductive or deductive reasoning, judging or evaluating, and making decisions or solving problems. Background knowledge is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for enabling critical although within a given subject" (Lai, 2011, p.2).

because “they make you feel good, as if you were at home”. Andrés went a step further to express that the growing presence of these ads contributed to a better understanding between migrants and native people, as illustrated in the following passage:

> **Andrés:** (…) there are lots of advertisements, you know, about emigrants [sic] so in the end people is already adapting [to it] you know? At the beginning, people would look at them in a weird way. Or Spaniards didn't talk to us, and we also were somehow against them, you know? But as time has passed, and they see there is so much emigration, well, they are already adapted [to us] and we are adapted to them (...) It is a mutual adaptation because at the beginning they looked down on us, and we too. They thought they were in this land and that we would did what we wanted to them, you know?
>
> **Cecilia***: Ok, and do you think these [advertisements] reflect this changing situation somehow?*
>
> **A:** Yes, they reflect it very much because (...) before there were very few, but now, as you see them everywhere, they remain unnoticed. You see them more natural and they [Spaniards] do it too, you know?

Alicia and Andrés’ opinions represent one position among many different ones. A marketing study on Latin American migrants in Spain revealed that many people dislike niche focused advertising, like ethnic advertising that target specific nationalities. They preferred images in which they appear together with native people, or in which the commercial messages are the same for everybody (Álvarez Ruiz, 2009, p.55). In this line of thinking, a Moroccan interviewee expressed his desire of having ads that showed similarities instead of differences between natives and foreigners. His comment was inspired by the ad in which a Moroccan child looks seriously at viewers (see Figure 6.14 in the previous chapter):

> I think that in this photo, they can take this child away and do something in common between Morocco and Spain, for example, [something related to] a shared history, things that are in Morocco and Spain, that they are the same, [for example] there are similar castles... (Said, 20).

This oppositional reading was echoed by other young interviewees, probably motivated by their multiple belongings to societies of origin and destination. While looking at the same ad, Fatiha (21) stated that it misrepresented Moroccan people: “The child

causes pity. And of course, in Morocco not everybody is like this", she said. A similar interpretation was made by Karen (19), an Ecuadorian University student who has lived in Barcelona for 10 years. When she saw the Western Union ad in which an Ecuadorian woman shows a bunch of banknotes (see Figure 6.15), she said: "those who are abroad feel this is not true; I don't feel identified by this (…) as if it were the Third World, that we need money". "*Send money because they need it, they are starving"*, she added ironically. Instead, she liked the Lebara ad because it dignified Ecuadorian highlands culture, shown in the girls' jewellery (Figure 6.9):

> This one is very nice because it is not as the other one who seemed to have nothing (…) they are showing something that is part of us (...) I'm not from this part of the highlands (...) but I know it is from my country and I like seeing it.

In particular, two Moroccan men felt upset about the abundance of advertisement targeting Latin Americans and the almost complete absence of images representing the Arab culture:

> I always detect a hint of racism towards the Arabs in these images. They never put photos of men with beard or women with a *hijab*... They always put photos of *Latinos*; I would like to see photos of Arab people too" (Mustapha).

> I see market segregation. The advertising I see here targets Latin Americans, you know? The family, the couple (…) and I think there is a cultural difference here, I think that what works here doesn't work in other communities. I think this works for Latin Americans [he points at the ad in Figure 6.1] because this love... they are very close and outgoing, this is highly valued. But in the case of Arabs, it is less valued (...) there is not this extroversion of feelings (...) Moroccan people would not look at this, they will look at prices and which the direct advantages are" (Youssef).

Feeling closer?

Apart from reinforcing national identities –while excluding others– and hiding colonial mental models of first and third worlds, the commercial discourses of MP and MT services promise that people can be close to their beloved ones despite geographical distances. When asked if this was their feeling when sending money or using ICT to contact family abroad, most interviewees agreed. Some of them referred to specific difficulties faced in long distance communication some years ago, when such resources were not

available. Roberto (45) remembered that in 1979, when he was still in Ecuador, his uncle's letters from the US arrived every two or three months. This temporality and unimodality of transnational communication has changed dramatically, shifting towards immediate and multimodal forms of communication enhanced by the telephone and digital technologies.

"Each person use the more convenient channel [of communication] for them (...) It is your experience, when you talk on the phone, you feel closer to the people", reflected Andrés (34), who felt identified with the commercial messages of closeness: "I agree with these ads because I'm also using [these services].[149] This dominant reading involved agreeing with the idea that if you called and/or sent money, you *felt* or even *were* closer to the addressees. It was problematized by Aziza (20) who made a negotiated reading in which the intended message of the enunciator was appropriated halfway: "I'm not sure if you feel closer, but you can communicate better what's going on. I prefer to be with them". Another example of negotiated reading was Habiba's (40) reflection: "Yes, I do feel closer [when using the MP], really. But these prices they [the companies] say, sometimes they don't respect them, they tell you one price and in the end it is another one!"[150]

Like other interviewees, Micaela (20) agreed that "sometimes they don't explain you well about the prices per minute with VAT included. Or that, for example, if you activate a promotion with messages, they will charge you each month for that, and these kinds of things". Youssef also complained about the lack of transparency in the information about the costs of the services: "when they put it like this, they make your life really difficult", he said with reference to the requirements[151] for accessing a special plan in the ad in Figure H.3 in Appendix H.

Oscar's reading of the ads was negotiated, since he both agreed and problematized the dominant representation made by MP providers: "It does make you feel that you are

[149] *TN:* In the original interview, "yo me uno a esta publicidad".

[150] This mismatch between the information in the ad and the real bill tends to occur because the conditions for the special offers are detailed in very small font script, almost illegible.

[151] The ad read: "Subscribe you at your point of sale or dialling *142#" (*TN:* in the original, in Catalan language, "Dóna't d'alta al teu Punt de Venda o marcant*142#")

closer to your family", he said, but nuanced this positive feeling with the crude truth of how he experienced distance:

> You talk on the phone, you feel happy and you can listen to your relative's voice. But when they tell you an anecdote, you know, you stay with that sad feeling of not having been there for a moment... if there was a family celebration [and they tell you] *everybody came, you were the only one missing!*

It was interesting to see how the same advertising piece inspired contrasting readings between different people, as it was the case with the ad which says *Your country of origin and Spain, more united than ever,* next to four smiling young persons and a fictional map in which the geopolitical contours of Ecuador and Spain are shown fuse together, forming a single country (Figure H.1 in Appendix H). Gladys (23) made a dominant reading, understanding the message as true in itself: "Spain has a lot of things from your country. When I came [to Spain] there was nothing; now, there is everything", she laughed, "there weren't so many immigrants here in 2000, 2001". Julio, however, who had the same national origin and similar age and educational background as Gladys, made a very different reading of it: "*More united than ever.* Oh, no! I don't believe this", he said with a sarcastic smile on his face, "I'm here and my family is there [in Ecuador], then you feel further, because there are many, many kilometres of difference (…)". His oppositional reading also involved the company that signed the ad, which according to persons from his social environment, was not trustworthy:

> I was told that when you make a call it gets really expensive, that you can't control it. I had some friends who changed company because it was very expensive (...) they said these were thieves that would steal you for nothing.

In a similar line of thinking, Fatiha linked the print ads with her distrust of direct marketing: "I don't trust much these. They send me lot of ads, for example to win a car, and people send messages back but never get anything. It's tricky".

Apart from the lack of trust, interviewees' concerns with their budgets also triggered oppositional readings of the ads. When she saw the one with the phrase "Hear `how are you, darling´ anytime you want" (Figure H.3 in Appendix H).

Rachida insisted on the issue of the economic costs of communication:

> It depends on the person's job. If I work and get 2000€, 3000€ per month, I could agree that this [slogan] is right, ok? Because I won't pay that much in comparison with the salary I earn (...) But when you talk with a man or woman who earns, I don't know, 1000€ or 900€ or 800€, they don't have the option to always talk from the MP.

The same ad, however, was positively interpreted by Aziza, who made a dominant reading when she said "I like the idea of calling anytime I want to because I like having the freedom that you are not supposed to call only in the morning or in the afternoon". Although many users took advantage of companies' special offers to pay cheaper call rates at specific times of the day, some experienced this as a limitation to their communicative needs.

The costs of connectivity were repeatedly mentioned in the interviews, sometimes in a spontaneous way and others in response to my specific questions on this issue. Although in the joint readings of ads there were no explicit questions about it, it emerged quite often. When looking at MP ads, prices were the first element that was noticed and commented upon. "12 eurocents per minute to Ecuador. And in the *locutorio* it costs 10 eurocents!" laughed Maria, who also said that the costs for MT in the ads, when present, were too expensive: "they charge you too much on commission!" she said and added that she preferred to use bank accounts.

There were few MT ads that had clear information on the costs of the service. I had already realized about this in the analysis developed in Chapter 6, and now various interviewees complained about it. Mustapha stated "I don't care about their discounts (...) I'm interested in the exchange rates, not [in] these photos. Information is missing". This oppositional reading repeated in Youssef's words: "People will complain about this", he said while pointing at the MP tariffs in the Lebara ad which offered a lottery among its customers (Figure 6.7), which winner got a trip to visit her country of origin: "Ah, yes, a trip, but in any case I wouldn't look at the ad for the trip and everything. I would look at the tariffs". When he saw a WU ad with full size photo of a smiling character but no written information he asked me "¿How much does it cost to send money? The entire image should focus on this issue". Youssef was critical with advertising in general and said it was not important for him because he already had telecom providers and he did not transfer money

abroad: “Advertising is a need: you look at it when you need something. If I know I won't send money, then it won't call my attention”.

Other interviewees criticized what they considered an instrumental use of feelings made by the companies. Micaela (20) stated that the rhetorical questions used by WU ads were very touching: “Since you are far away and you miss [your people] (…) they take advantage of this to make you feel identified [with the images]”. In the same line, Noelia (34) did not like the metaphor of sending money and sending love (Figure 6.16): “it's like making you feel a bit... uneasy inside you”. Habiba (40) was also very critical when she read the phrase in the ad of Figure H.2 (Appendix H). “The best gift for your loved ones is to talk more”:[152] “With these advertisement copies I feel deceived... they are all businesses that look for their profits. They play a lot with feelings”, she stated. Rachida also felt suspicious about ads: “what slogans say is not at all true because they always look for businessmen's profits, they don't look after users’ interests”. Her opposite reading was softened when asked if she felt identified with the phrase “Can I give them a reason to smile?” in Figure (...). She agreed: “Yes, this message is ok (...) I send [money] to my mother [in Morocco] and my sister [in Barcelona], both with health problems. And when my sister, for example, gets some money from me, she feels happy”. The geographically neutral layout of the WU “Yes!” campaign, which lack national cues, make it suitable for different situations of trans/national connectivity that might happen within the same national context or across borders, such as in Rachida’s case.

Yolanda (38) liked the ads from this campaign in general, “because they reflect like the tranquillity these people feel when they receive something from their beloved ones”. Andrés nuanced his reading of the ad in Figure 6.18 as follows: “*Can I send them happiness?* Well, for many people it can be so. There are lot of people who don’t have anything to eat. If you can send [them money], then [it is] ok”. Ali (34) agreed that these ads “called people’s attention because money transfers make them really happy”, but he also underlined the polysemia of these images: “It is like poetry”, he said, “each of us make our own interpretations, there is not a pre-established reading”.

[152] *TN:* the original version in Catalan is "El millor regal es parlar amb qui més estimes"

When I asked Maria what her opinion was about the cheerful attitude of the represented characters, she said it was adequate for the moment of trans/national communication, offering a dominant reading of the ads in relation to her own experience:

> After you listen to your family, you feel better. You chat and ask about each other. If I want to gossip a bit, then I call my cousins and I get stories from here and there, sometimes about people who I hardly know, but I entertain myself with their stories.

Ana, however, did not feel identified with the happy people in the ads and the messages of closeness. While looking at the ad which reads "Those who are far away, are now in your Orbitel Mobile" (Figure 6.1), she showed scepticism: "Wherever you call, you are far away". She had come to Spain alone in 2001, while her small children aged seven and eleven stayed in Ecuador for two years until she could reunify them. She used to call them from a telephone booth: "[when we talked on the phone] I felt sadder because when I came the girl was very small, so I was a bit sad", she said. I asked her if the fact of calling them regularly changed her sad feelings, but she replied negatively and added: "Even when I knew they were with my mother, it is not the same [than being with them]".

In nuclear families, the experience of distance between parents and young children is a difficult one in which the need to feel closer increases. Many of the MP and MT ads use images of children in origin and of transnational parenthood to emotionally move potential customers who might be living this situation. In the group of interviewees, there were various present and past experiences of transnational parenthood (and childhood), especially among Ecuadorians. Roberto used to live with her three teenage daughters in Ecuador for some years until his wife could reunify them all in Spain. He felt touched by the ad in which there are three teen girls in school uniforms (Figure 6.19): "This one reminds me of my daughters. It is the idea that you send money for your children to continue studying and be happy, despite being far away". Most Ecuadorian mothers I interviewed had already given birth in Spain or reunified their children, so they were not especially touched by the images of transnational motherhood displayed in some of the ads. Yolanda (38) said this was not an issue for her anymore because she had brought her children to Spain 10 years ago.

On the one hand, interviewees were easily seduced by the promises of closeness and happiness made by the commercial messages. On the other hand, most of them showed awareness about the ideal worlds this genre portrayed: “Advertisement is imagination”, reflected Malika, “you can’t believe everything before you try it. You can hear nice words they say to you to convince you to buy this product (...) with images or words. But the truth... you will know it when you use the product. That’s it”.

8.4. Concluding Remarks

Migrants’ accounts revealed that mobile phones (MP) and money transfers (MT) are very important resources for keeping in touch with social networks in both origin and destination societies. However, they also evidenced that many people used them in limited ways, appropriating them according to their own personal and social contexts, sometimes in different ways than those intended by providers. This conditioned the extensity, intensity, velocity and impact of interconnection, affecting the quality of relationships at a distance.

Despite similarities –namely, a common migrant experience and a general concern with expenses - Ecuadorian and Moroccan interviewees had diverse user profiles. National origin *per se* did not necessarily account for these differences, which are better understood by the intersections of gender roles, ethnicity, age, literacy, employability (and consequently budget allocation) and availability of basic technological infrastructures among the people involved in the communicative events, in both origin and destination societies.

Not all interviewees used MT services: this was conditioned by age and employability, and limited to the dynamics of close family members. Adult migrants with regular incomes were more prone to send the same amount of money every month, while those who were unemployed did it in a less patterned way, depending on sporadic jobs and changing circumstances. The main addressees of MT were the elderly −grandparents or parents− and children –sons, daughters, brothers, sisters and nephews− living in the country of origin. However, MT also occurred among relatives living in different Spanish cities, evidencing that migrant connectivity also involves local and national flows of resources, beyond the exclusive transnational bias of corporate discourses. This fact, which concerns the *extensity* of migrant connectivity, becomes more evident in MP use.

Most interviewees agreed that calling abroad from a MP was the most comfortable way to keep in touch in a personalised, continuous and intimate way. Moreover, its oral interface proved especially appropriate when digital illiteracy or lack of technological equipment and infrastructures inhibited computer mediated communication (CMC). Despite providing direct and instant communication in easy ways, MP was more used for making national calls within Spain. The high call rates of international calls from MP prevented long, comfortable conversations, resulting in frustrating experiences of transnational family communication.

The *intensity* of migrant connectivity, defined by cost and frequency, depended on a usually scarce budget so people tended to look for different low-cost resources and points of access which allowed better control of expenses, like prepaid subscriptions, `scratch´ cards and *locutorios*. Some practices were promoted by service providers, like telecom promotions to call a specific destination at particular times. Although many users took advantage of them, others experienced this as a limitation to their communicative needs. Others, however, engaged directly with their own interests, for example by owning multiple SIM cards from different providers and sharing MP terminals, in an endless process of commercial disciplining and user appropriation.

I considered the frequency of connectivity according to *routines* (e.g. weekly phone calls), *rituals* (e.g. birthdays and religious celebrations) and *crisis* (emergency situations), as proposed by Baldassar (2007). Interviewees said they had specific dates and amounts for transferring money, as well as days, times and frequency for voice communication. By contrast, online communication occurred in more spontaneous, less planned ways, particularly among regular users of social network sites (SNS), like the youth.

The third dimension of migrant connectivity, *velocity*, implied a form of immediate communication that, for instance, in crisis time, would enable quick responses to others in need far away. Keeping in touch regularly and during crisis was conceived as a form of care giving at a distance, a moral responsibility provided by “good” sons, daughters, parents or other family roles. Interviewees recognised that it stimulated feelings of proximity (the

impact of migrant connectivity), but were also aware that companies instrumentally used this emotional side of transnational communication to sell their services.

In the joint reading of ads, each person made different interpretations based on their own experience and background. Those with higher educational levels tended to make more complex analysis and oppositional readings. National stereotypes and promises of closeness were criticized by some, while others identified with the messages, elaborating dominant readings. A common concern was the lack of transparency in the information provided by companies about the final costs of the services, in particular, due to mismatches between the promises in the ads and the real bills. This led many customers to change providers frequently in a continuous search for better offers, sometimes considering their closest contacts' choices in Spain to take advantage of cheaper local calls.

Apart from finding expensive to make international calls from the MP on a regular basis, many of the migrants interviewed had difficulties to afford mobile internet connection due to contexts of high unemployment and uncertainty.

9. Conclusions

Some years ago at a post office in Granada, I saw a poster which read "Their well-being is your illusion" in Romanian, Arabic and Spanish, next to the photo of a smiling child. The image, which advertised Western Union money transfer services, both captivated and disturbed me. In times of much xenophobia, racism and hate-speech against specific profiles of foreign people in Spain, it was pleasant to see a message partially recognising migrants' efforts and the happiness of a child waiting and growing up in another - probably distant - location. However, I found the enunciator of the message quite disturbing: a multinational corporation that makes millions from individual savings and whose main source of empathy with addressees is not necessarily linked to basic human rights but to market shares. My story of disturbance and captivation proves helpful to highligh some of the main ideas developed in this thesis, in particular two related to the context and content of the advertising poster.

First, the context is marked by three ongoing and interrelated processes: increasing mobility, digital connectivity and the consolidation of a service-based economy. This was theoretically discussed in the second chapter that considered how ICT and travel technologies have increased people's ability to live trans/nationally through regular trips, the redistribution of economic and cultural resources on real time, and ubiquitous communication with their geographically scattered social networks. These practices are mediated by the intervention of a third party: the service providers that target migrants' specific needs to keep in touch: from telecom carriers and *locutorios*, to airlines and money transfer agencies.

Secondly, my feelings towards the advertising poster illustrate three important issues about migrants: their multiple belongings across national borders, the commercial interests around them and their public discursive representation in destination societies. I thought it was worth engaging with these issues in a more systematic way, and started this research journey with many uncertainties and questions that pendulated between users and providers. I wanted to understand the ways in which people experience migration, in

particular, the consequences of mobility for their personal lives and the challenges involved in keeping in touch with beloved ones at a distance (the transnational level) while also building networks in destination societies (the national level). I defined these interactions as migrant trans/national connectivity, and I soon realised the importance of a usually ignored but powerful actor involved in the process: service providers in the private sector. This research's main contribution has been to put some of these private actors in the spotlight and to contrast their discursive strategies towards migrants, with migrants´ accounts of experiences.

In this chapter, I structure these concluding remarks according to three focuses of interest: new actors, new discourses and new processes. The adjective "new" does not necesarily refer to something previously nonexisitng, but to the lack of centrality they have had in previous research on migration.

9.1. Conceptualising New Actors: The Migration Industry of Connectivity Services

At various locations, time periods and migratory stages, there have been providers of specific services customised for migrants, as I discussed in Chapter 2. Recent examples include transportation and accomodation providers, "enter immigration advisors, tax refund offices, business consultancies, money sending outlets, banks, travel agents, communication businesses, ethnic media, the ethnic food economy" (Garapich, 2008, p.737). These activities are part of the "migration industry", a term coined by Castles and Miller (2003) as a meso level approach between the micro level of migrants' everyday experiences and the macro level of migratory policies. It constitutes an umbrella concept spanning legal and illegal services, provided by profit and non-profit organisations, in departure and arrival societies, through physical and virtual modalities.

In this context, I conceptualized the emergence of what I call "the migration industry of connectivity services" (MICS) as a `soft´ kind of migration industry, characterized for occurring within a legal framework and not having a determining influence on the migratory decision. Traditional definitions of the migration industry referred to private ventures focused on informal physical border crossing. However, the MICS shifts the attention towards the intermediaries of digital connectivity between migrants themselves

and non-migrant people at multiple locations, having great potential as a useful conceptual framework to analyze contemporary migratory processes.

In general, the relationship between users and providers is neither linear nor absolutely predictable but it rests on a basic tension: the former need a service and do not want to pay (too much) for it; the latter profit from providing the service so they want users to spend as much as possible (and beyond). I decided to look at how this tension manifested discursively, with focus on paradigmatic cases of migrant connectivity and representative actors based in Spain. Thus I considered mobile phones (MP) and remittances as part of a contemporary "migratory culture" (Pedone, 2005, p.112) through two companies outstanding in their sector – Lebara, a virtual mobile network operator and Western Union, a money transfer (MT) operator– and Ecuadorian and Moroccan migrants' general experiences of trans/national connectivity.

My approach to analysing the MICS was mainly discursive since I argued that our understanding of migration can be enriched by looking at the aspects of being a migrant that are emphasized and those that are silenced in the discourses elaborated by specific actors, resulting in different discursive regimes on migrant connectivity. For this purpose, I defined corporate discourses through three complementary channels: practitioners' accounts, online corporate texts and outdoor advertisement, leading to a mixed methodology model.

9.2. Analysing New Discourses: Methodological Challenges

My approach echoed the conceptual inheritance of the cultural and linguistic turns experienced in the humanities and the social sciences in the 20th century, according to which discourses are not only words or images, but also practices. They do not merely reflect the world but constitute structuring devices of reality with both textual and extra-textual dimensions. I assumed this challenge in my own research, combining cultural studies (CS) and critical discourse studies (CDS), as I explained in Chapter 4. This interdisciplinary and multiperspective approach considered three intertwined areas of discourses on migrant connectivity: textual analysis, audience reception and political economy (Kellner, 2003).

The political economy of migrant connectivity involved looking at the social, political and economic contexts in which corporate discourses are produced and circulated, as well as contested by people´s patterns of connectivity. This encompased the contextual information I provided in Chapter 3 and the interviews with ten spokespersons working in the marketing departments of MP and MT companies about how they define and target migrant customers, which I presented in Chapter 7.

The audience reception approach involved focusing on migrants' accounts on their feelings, perceptions and experiences as users of MP and MT services. In turn, these connectivity practices contextualized their "hegemonic, negotiated or oppositional" readings (Hall, 1974) of purposively selected commercial messages. Methodologically, the joint reading of ads was a rich experience within the interview format, activating new reflections in participants' responses that had not been covered by the more traditional questionnaire. Most interviewees were not sensitive to advertising regarding their purchase choices, being usually more influenced by word of mouth among their personal networks. While they all expressed distrust on the information provided by the companies and some made oppositional readings of national stereotypes, many also felt identified with the portrayal of transnational relationships. However, connectivity practices and ads reading were marked by the diversity of individual profiles and migratory trajectories: they were not a unified discourse but a mosaic of everyday experiences of mobility and connectivity. For instance, interviewees with higher educational levels tended to make more complex analyzes and to be especially opposed to the ads' messages of love and closeness.

Beyond the specificities of the distinctive services and discursive genres, one of my main findings has been to identify how MP and MT operators have crafted a strong pro-migrant position and the image of hyper-connected migrants who rely on their services 24 hours a day, seven days a week. This was evidenced in the textual analysis I conducted through visual social-semiotics of outdoor advertisements and a critical discourse analysis of online texts (press releases, mission statements and corporate social responsibility statements). In accordance with van Dijk, i considered corporate messages as elite discourses that reproduce dominant power structures within societies in very subtle ways

and constitute a challenge for critical analysts to make evident their underlying ideological work.

In the empirical Chapters 5 and 6 I reported on the process and results of the critical discourse analysis of corporate messages that pictured a quite innovative migratory landscape of actors, relationships and knowledge, and that also evidenced some contradictions. Corporate discourses represent migrants in quite different ways to other publicly visible discourses like news reports and parliamentary debates. At the same time, each of them constitutes, in Foucauldian terms, orders of discourse or sites of power struggle for meaning, whose historically constructed nature ensures their changing and contested status.

9.3. Understanding New Processes: Commodification and Appropriation of Migrant connectivity

The conceptualization of the MICS and the central role of MP and MT operators have led to one of the main conclusions of this research: migrant connectivity, understood as migrants' practices to keep in touch, has become a commodity, a marketable service in a hyper-segmented consumer culture.

Commodification is a top-down process, but it is not unidirectional: migrants are active agents of their connectivity strategies from the moment they are able to appropriate given services, adapting providers' offers to their own needs, overcoming constraints and turning them into opportunities. As a result of these dynamics, this research showed how these actors' different logics, interests and power resources participate in a process of mutual influence: enterprises professionally shaping migrants' practices through symbolic and material strategies; migrants spontaneusly and intuitively shaping enterprises' commercial strategies when they subvert affordances (e.g. multiple SIM card ownership), complain about expensive services or use available services for unexpected purposes (e.g. missed calls).

I argue that these processes of commodification and appropriation have had important consequences at the overlapping symbolic and material levels of migrant connectivity, with positive as well as negative outcomes. The symbolic level refers to the

most cultural dimension of communication, its capacity to create understanding, give meaning and sense to our lives, such as through the management of emotions that drive most of human behaviour and the construction of imaginaries and subject positions. The material levels of migrant connectivity involve considering the provision, access and appropriation of the necessary devices and services for keeping in touch, like MP, computers, internet connections, transports and MT.

Commodification evidences how enterprises, as discursive actors in the public sphere, have developed a strong pro-migrant positioning that manifests symbolically through the construction of an aestheticized imagery on migration (visual texts) and a needs-talk that align providers' and users' interests from a top-down perspective (mainly expressed in the online written texts). Materially, this needs-talk defines the different dimensions of migrants' connectivity practices – extension, intensity, velocity and impact– according to business interests. This may converge or collide with migrant users' everyday experiences, and with their symbolic appropriation of the commercial representations. Figure 9.1 roughly illustrates these processes in four interdependent quadrants.

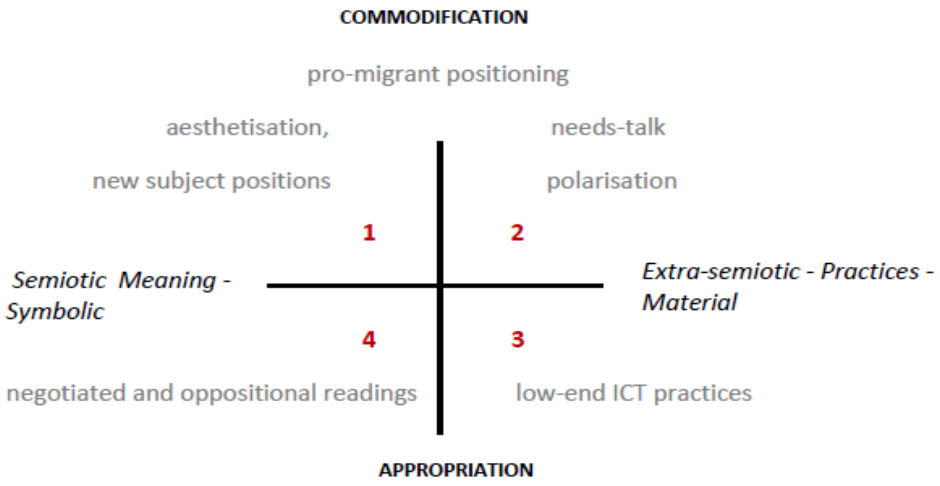


Figure 9.1. Symbolic and material dimensions of commodification and appropriation processes in migrant connectivity.

Symbolically, commodification (Q1) involves an aesthetisation of migrant connectivity which manifests visually through ethnic advertising displaying smiling and loving characters in colorful close-up shots, many times looking straight at viewers in an

engaging way. In turn, advertising copies tend to emphasize how care, love and happiness can be maintained and stimulated at a distance and at a convenient price, merging impact and intensity related issues. On the one hand, this advertising imagery produces and disseminates "new visual codings" (Nixon, 1997, p.294) of migration, which may have the potential to change social attitudes and behaviours through idealized representations of both the present and possible futures. On the other hand, however, it shows how private interests have appropriated migrants' experiences of connectivity for their business purposes, turning them into commodity-signs (Baudrillard, 1981) that detach experiences from real contexts and deprive them from the nitty-gritty. This intromission of market logics into migrants' private life imbues affects of glossy representations and catchy slogans that focus on the bright side of migrant connectivity –ritual and routine communication– at the expenses of silencing the conflicts and crises present in complex dynamics of human interactions at a distance.

Unlike online texts, which tend to portray migrants in homogeneous and impersonalized ways, ethnic ads represent individual characters with specific markers of age, sex, gender role and ethnicity. However, this differentiation does not challenge but reinforce gender and ethnic stereotypes, with predominance of women as carers, children as fragile, the elderly as dependent and Latin Americans as talkative, loving and extroverted.

The visual aesthetisation of migrants as part of enterprises' pro-migrant positioning, is complemented by written resources in online texts. I have identified at least three subject positions of migrants that were neglected in the broader field of public discourse but that enterprises have discursively attributed to their target group: consumption, citizenship and familyhood.

Apart from emphasising emotions and affects in transnational family contexts, corporate discourses incorporate migrants into consumption dynamics that define subjects as economic agents positioned in commercial relationships. Acknowledging migrants' presence and participation in market societies as consumers is part of the process of citizenry, as it was demonstrated by the civic rights movements in the US during the 1960s

(Baladrón 2009, Halter 2000). One of the analyzed texts[153] goes a step further and develops the idea of migrants as "global citizens". This constitutes a paradigmatic shift in the discursive representation of migrants, both in the context of this corpus and beyond, since it acknowledges that people have rights and duties, no matter where they are born. After much pejorative use of the word "immigrants", often associated with negative adjectives such as "illegal" and nouns like "invasion" in the media and parliamentary debates, corporate online texts are abound with expressions like "migration processes", "migrant workers", "migrant communities" and "migrant families", helping to dignify the act of migrating.

The symbolic dimensions of connectivity cannot be isolated because they continuously merge with the material ones, when corporate representations determine basic conditions for connectivity (Q2). I identified two discursive strategies of commodification: needs-talk and polarisation. Polarisations consist in presenting actors in a dichotomous "Us-Them" logic, elaborating positive self-representations in contrast to others' negative ones (van Dijk, 2009, p.77). As part of their commercial strategy, written corporate discourses promote a common alignment between the business world and migrants. Companies present themselves as interested in and protective of migrants' well-being, implying that migration is no longer an exclusive matter of nation states but that it has become an object of concern for private enterprises. In most cases, governments and politicians are practically absent from corporate texts in what constitutes a particular argumentative strategy of delegitimation through omission: it erases a crucial actor of migration which, if mentioned, is criticised for its restrictive policies. By contrast, the companies support the free movement of migrant workers, show sensitivity on how the economic crisis has negatively affected them, and define themselves as a big family of customers, stakesholdres, agents and others included in the corporate identity pronoun "we". These strategies occlude neoliberal ideologies based on the deregulation and the liberalisation of markets worldwide and help to construct the image of the protective corporation, whose roles range from supportive and sensitive in a business relationship

[153] Text by Western Union, WU-8, see Appendix I.

between firm and client, to paternalistic and philanthropic in CSR statements. In any case, this mechanism passivises migrants as depositaries of the benefits 'kindly' offered by the companies.

In this movement of common alignment with migrants, enterprises appropriate migrant's needs and desires, both defining their problems and offering the solution. I extrapolated Nancy Fraser's concept of "needs-talk" (Fraser, 1989, p.291) developed in the context of welfare public policies, in order to account for how enterprises also craft migrants' needs on a top-down basis, in accordance with their business models based on low-cost services of transnational connectivity. This implies various assumptions about the extensity (who and where), intensity (how often and how much), velocity (immediacy) and impact (feelings of proximity) of migrant connectivity that contrasts with the material dimensions of appropriation, as expressed by migrants (Q3).

In terms of *extensity*, corporate discourses construct an ideal customer profile that is only in touch with family located in countries of origin. On the one hand, they acknowledge migrants´ multiple, affective, transnational belongings, offering a better understanding than public policies which tend to address uprooted persons. On the other hand, and since their commercial interests depend on making business across national borders (starting international calls and managing money abroad), companies overemphasize such belongings, reducing migrant connectivity to its transnational dimension. At the ideological level, this has at least two implications that reify migrants' needs in representations which do not always fit with people's experiences.

Firstly, it ignores –or puts in the background– people´s *local* connectivity needs. Although most spokespersons did show awareness of migrants' changing and multisited nature, this is not reflected in the exclusively transnationally oriented advertisements and online texts. This suggests there is a gap between marketing practitioners´ knowledge and the final message, constituting what I see as a paradox of needs-talk on migrant connectivity. Moreover, this knowledge usually results from marketing techniques marked by time pressures which can rarely develop in-depth analyzes of complex and dynamic realities.

Secondly, the bias towards migrants´ transnational connectivity is accompanied by a strong focus on family relationships above other possibilities like friendship or business. I interpret this as a commercial strategy, where it is in companies' interests to emphasize the emotional and financial responsibilities most migrants do have towards blood ties, constantly reminding them to call `home´ and send money on the spot. This relates to the third dimension of migrant connectivity, *velocity:* the immediateness needed for coordinating and networking, making quotidian decisions in real time and reacting quickly to support others in need at a distance. In turn, this presupposes a unidirectional character of transnational caregiving, which activates migrants' role as carers of highly passivized non-migrant relatives. Indeed, most interviewees' accounts evidence that they were particularly active in calling and sending money due to the cost convenience. However, many accounts also showed that caregiving occurs in multiple directions and that, when migrants feel nostalgia, sadness or weakness, they get words of comfort and emotional support from their non-migrant interlocutors as well.

In terms of *intensity*, both frequency and costs are epitomized, for example, by the advertising text "Cheaper international calls from Lebara 24 hours in your mobile!" promoting a hyper-connected migrant who is always reachable. However, this hyper-connectivity is not unlimited since it is highly conditioned by various interrelated factors, including economic costs. Companies are aware of the importance of costs for their target, but by overemphasising cheap frequent moments of connectivity, they also incur the conflation of all migrants with low-income users. In times of increasing mobile internet connections, I did not see offers of these services customised for migrant users. I interpret this gap as a prejudice from companies according to which migrants lag behind technological advances because they cannot afford them. Some of the migrants I interviewed were in this situation, affected by contexts of high unemployment and uncertainty. However, many others did use mobile internet on a daily basis, and all had it as an aspiration once they could overcome its cost disadvantages.

Costs correspond to the material axis of connectivity in its double expression, commodification and appropriation (Q2 and Q3). Commodification defines companies' conditions for the provision of services. The liberalisation and deregulation of MP and MT

markets, although immersed in a global strategy to stimulate flows of money and information, multiplied competition and facilitated the drop of prices. This allowed more people to access basic services to be connected, in particular, low-end ICT. This kind of democratization of connectivity can be considered a positive material outcome of commodification. However, the flip side inlcudes the opaqueness of institutions and tariffs. The opaqueness of institutions relates to the problems of accessing first-hand information from service providers. After the pilgrimage of telephone calls, emails and visits to various company spokespersons during various months, I have the impression I barely touched the tip of an iceberg, where even general information is jealously protected from curious eyes under the "confidential" label. The opaqueness of tariffs relates to the politics of pricing developed in accordance with specific destinations, dates, times of the day and time periods that define the special offers. In the case of MP services, companies set the rules to get cheap calls to some destinations but not others and to access subsidised modern terminals only if users have permanent subscriptions. MT operators profit from commissions and currency changes depending on the amount of money sent and the currency of origin and destination countries, and they develop different strategies to stimulate customers' loyalty and regular use of their services, like membership cards. Part of this information appears in advertising, highlighted by big font sizes or loud colors, outstanding from the rest of the content. Most migrant interviewees first commented on tariffs, ignoring or putting in the background the suggestive photographs and slogans I analyzed in Chapter 6. Many of them denounced a mismatch between the information in the ad and the real bill. This happened because the conditions for the special offers (time of the day, VAT, etc.) are usually detailed in very small, almost illegible, font scripts. Although many users took advantage of companies' special offers, many also experienced it as a limitation to their connectivity needs, for example, when they felt they could not call 'anytime, anywhere' without losing the control of their expenses. This was especially problematic for Ecuadorian migrants, who had to deal with up to seven hours of time difference between Spain and their country of origin.

The difficulties associated with unlimited MP use as promoted in the ads prevented long, comfortable conversations, causing discomfort and frustration in experiences of

transnational communication. The negative effects of unfulfilled promises of proximity relate to the *impact* of migrant connectivity and led users to look for low-cost alternatives, appropriating resources according to their own personal and social contexts, sometimes in different ways than those intended by providers. Thus they combined different options for communication (e.g. prepaid MP subscriptions, `scratch´ cards, multiple SIM cards, sharing MP terminals, CMC and accessing various services in *locutorios*) and for sending money at minimum costs (e.g. doing it collectively, through banks accounts and taking it personally when travelling is possible). Customers were also prone to changing providers quite often in search of better offers, sometimes considering their closest contacts' choices in Spain to take advantage of cheaper local calls.

The material aspects of appropriation intertwine with the symbolic ones that became especially visible when, in the joint reading of ads, each person elaborated different readings based on their own experience and background. National stereotypes and promises of closeness were criticized by some, while others felt identified with the messages, elaborating dominant readings. Those ones with higher educational levels tended to make more complex analyzes and oppositional readings. The lack of trust in the companies after bad experiences and interviewees' concerns with their budgets also triggered oppositional readings.

9.4. Future considerations

This research has sought to show the meaning-making processes and the power relationships at play between demand and supply, users and providers of two paradigmatic services of migrant connectivity experiences. It has highlighted the essential role that private interests and actors play through their politics of pricing and profit-driven provision of services, which in turn shape (and are shaped by) users' appropriation strategies. I have analyzed this phenomenon as tensions between an endless process of commercial disciplining, or commodification, and users' inventiveness, or appropriation.

While previous research has considered migrants' experiences with ICT enhanced services, my incorporation of providers into the analysis proved innovative by challenging

the strong myth of migration as an exclusive matter of nation states. Corporate discourses have crafted specific subject positions −such as the connected migrant and the protective corporation− they have constructed new relationships −such as the commercial ones between service providers and migrant users− reflecting the emergence of a different system of knowledge about migrants. In this context of global mobility, companies have acquired great influence on migrants' individual and social well-being as the intermediaries of the management of relationships at a distance. The political and ethical implications at stake in these dynamics should be objects of concern for the whole network of actors related to migration issues: from politicians to social workers, activists and scholars engaged in developing more encompassing perspectives.

My discursive and interdisciplinary apporach hopes to contribute, at least partially, to understand contemporary migrant connectivity as a complex, highly stratified and multidimensional experience that should not be taken for granted. This dissertation, however, constitutes an incomplete project due to various shortcomings caused by the ambition to cover multiple actors' perspectives, and by the challenges of analysing an ongoing process in the relatively short period of time inherent to PhD research.

Future research could navigate migrants´ connectivity experiences from multisited locations that include non-migrant accounts and service providers' strategies in countries of origin, enriching the analysis with other discursive genres (e.g. TV spots, online videos for corporate communication) and research techniques (e.g. participant observation). The rising of a global, digital and networked consumer society increasingly posits new challenges to understand how the economic interests of major global players approach migration, the ideologies at work behind their business models and the rationales that collide as well as converge with public policies and other key processes that define the present and future of contemporary migration.

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Appendix A. The Mobile Network Operators (MNO) and their special plans for immigrants in Spain, by March 2010.

MNO	Commercial strategy	Target countries[154]
Movistar	Special prices to call from Spain to any telephone or mobile phone number from a list of 55 other countries. The plan is called "Tarifa Juntos" (Together Price)	55 countries included in this plan are mostly from Europe and North-Latin America, 5 North African countries and 2 Asian ones.
	Special prices to call any mobile phone number from the same company Movistar in those countries where the company is based. The plan is called "Tarifa Juntos entre Movistar" (Together Price among Movistar)	Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, Ecuador, Guatemala, México, Marruecos, Nicaragua, Panamá, Perú, Uruguay, Venezuela.
	Special prices for people who usually make calls to a specific country, short listed by the company. This plan is called "Puente Movistar" (Movistar Bridge).	Rumania, Bulgaria, Ucrania, Alemania, Reino Unido, Argentina, Brasil, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Perú, Marruecos.
Vodafone	Special prices to call any telephone or mobile phone number of any chosen country, from 8am to 8pm. The plan is called "Mi País" (My country)	
	Special prices to call a specific telephone or mobile phone number from the country chosen in "Mi país" plan, from 8am to 8pm. This plan is called "Tu Número Mi País" (Your Number My country)	
	Special price to call any user of Mi País plan. This plan is called "Comunidad Mi País" (My country Community)	
Orange	"Módulo de ahorro" (Saving module) that offers special prices in international calls.	The company defines three different zones for the prices. Calls made in Zone 1(Europa) and Zone 2 (North and Latin America, Ucrania, Rusia and Pakistan) are cheaper than Zone 3 (mostly Africa and Asia)
Yoigo	Same price for any international call	Calls to North Korea, Cuba and Somalia are more expensive.

Source: Own elaboration

[154] This information is based on websites and adverts; the services offered by each company are not limited to these countries.

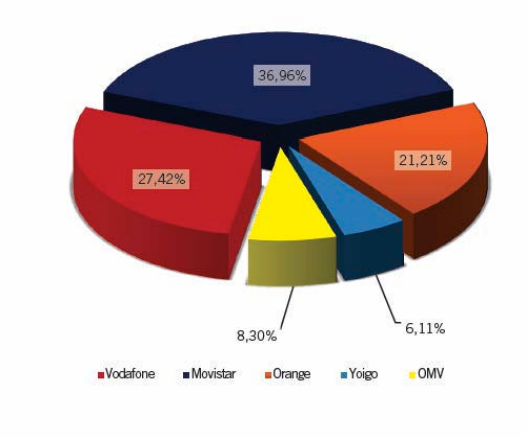
Appendix B. Mobile Virtual Network Operators (MVNO) and their special plans for immigrants in Spain, by March 2010.

MVNO[155]	Commercial strategy	Target countries
Digi Mobil (Movistar)	Mobile phone card with a double number: a Rumanian one and a Spanish one, promising cheaper communication from and to both countries. Information is provided in both Rumanian and Spanish language.	Rumania
TalkOut Móvil (Orange)	Special prices in international calls and information provided in both Spanish and English.	Ecuador, Marruecos y Perú
Hablafácil (Orange)	Exclusive service for Banco Santander customers with special prices in international calls.	Argentina, Bulgaria, Colombia, China, Ecuador, Marruecos, Perú, Rep. Dominicana, Rumania.
Happy Móvil (Orange)	Special prices in international calls	Colombia, Rumania.
Hits Mobile (Vodafone)	Special prices in international calls and information provided in Spanish, French, English, German, Arab and Rumanian.	
Hong da Mobile (Orange)	Special prices in calls to China and information provided in Chinese.	China
Lebara (Vodafone)	Special prices in international calls and information provided in Spanish, English and Romanian.	China, Colombia, Ecuador, Filipina, Ghana, Marruecos, Nigeria, Pakistán, Reino Unido, Rumania, Senegal
Mundimóvil (Orange)	Special prices in international calls.	Argentina, Brazil, China, Colombia, Perú, Rumania, Uruguay, Venezuela
Orbitel (Vodafone)	Mobile phone services thought for Latina American customers based in USA and Spain. "Tu Línea Directa" plan (**Your direct line**): the call between a Latin telephone number and a Spanish one costs like a local call.	Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Méjico, Perú, Rep. Dominicana, Venezuela

Source: Own elaboration

[155] This table maps the most publicly visible MVNO in March 2010, with the corresponding MNO that supports each service added between brackets below. Since then, the market has changed rapidly and some of them closed (Hong da Mobile and TalkOut) while other ones have started to operate -being the most important ones Ortel (Orange) and Lycamobile (Movistar)- (U., 2012).

Appendix C. Market share of mobile phone operators in Spain. Source: CMT (2011).



Appendix D. Payment services in Spain. Source:Remesas.org (2011).

Ranking de entidades de Pago 2011

Fuente: elaboración de Remesas.org sobre datos de Registro Mercantil

Rank 2011	Cuota	Cod. BdE	Empresa y año	Ingresos 2010
1	18%	6801	WESTERN UNION RETAIL S. SPAIN (09)	32.011.000
	12%		*SMALL WORLD+CHOICE (VIRTUAL 10)*	*20.057.208*
2	9%	6842	RIA PAYMENT INSTITUTION (EX ENVIA) (09)	15.215.900
3	7%	6838	CHANGE CENTER (10)	12.365.341
4	7%	6824	SMALL WORLD FINANCIAL SERVICES (10)	11.829.579
5	7%	6825	UNITED EUROPHIL (10)	11.566.495
6	6%	6816	CAMBITUR INTERNATIONAL (10)	11.008.151
7	4%	6822	BBVA DINERO EXPRESS (09)	7.691.867
8	4%	6820	CHOICE MONEY TRANSFER (10)	7.330.910
9	4%	6814	MONTY GLOBAL PAYMENTS (09)	6.192.019
10	4%	6823	TELEGIROS (09)*	6.176.240
11	3%	6841	MONEYGRAM PAYMENT SYSTEMS (09)	5.506.421
12	3%	6827	MONEY EXPRESS TRANSFER (10)*	5.461.912
13	3%	1738	ANGELO COSTA SPAIN (09)	5.208.943
14	3%	6828	I TRANSFER MONEY MOVERS (09)	5.071.217
15	3%	6840	MONEYTRANS WORLD (10)	4.650.336
16	2%	6831	MACCORP EXACT CHANGE (10)	3.994.003
17	2%	1756	TITANES TELECOMUNICACIONES (10)*	3.973.749
18	2%	6807	SAFE INTERENVIOS (09)	2.958.277
19	2%	6818	SANTANDER ENVIOS (09)*	2.747.000
20	1%	1761	SIGUE GLOBAL SERVICES (Ex-COINSTAR) (10)	2.367.520
21	1%	6806	MUNDIAL MONEY TRANSFER (09)	2.010.684
22	1%	6812	MONEY EXCHANGE (09)	1.534.379
23	1%	6819	LEFER TRANSFER (09)	1.503.873
24	1%	6813	TRANS FAST FINANCIAL SERVICES (10)*	1.242.473
25	1%	6836	JET PERU MONEY TRANSFER (09)*	1.026.111
26	0%	6833	METRO-REMITTANCE CENTER (09)	861.701
27	0%	6808	FENIXTRANSFERS (10)	340.000
28	0%	1757	CBN REMITTANCE CENTER (10)	314.900
29	0%	6844	CERRO CATEDRAL (10)	287.065
30	0%	6829	FACIL ENVIOS (09)	252.334
31	0%	6810	HERBON ENVIOS (09)	102.552
32	0%	6805	UNIVERSAL TRANSFER MONEY ON (09)	35.809
33	0%	6817	AMERICAN EXPRESS FOREIGN EXCHANGE (10)	6.509
34	0%	6803	TELEFONICA REMESAS (10)	3.000
		6834	LATIN TRAVEL MONEY TRANSFER	Nd
		6832	BPI EXPRESS REMITTANCE SPAIN	Nd
		6835	TRANSFERENCIAS AMERICA	Nd
		1780	EASY REMITTANCE	Nd
		1781	CLICK TRANSFER	Nd
		6815	MONEYONE EXPRESS FINANCIAL	Nd
		6826	AUSTROGIROS, EP	Nd
		6809	NEC MONEY TRANSFER ENTIDAD DE PAGO, S.A.	Nd

Appendix E. List of focused interviews with company spokespersons.

	DATE	COMPANY	POSITION	PLACE	MODALITY	LENGTH (minutes)
1	12/11/2010	Lebara (MP)	Marketing Department	Barcelona	personal	32
2	11/03/2011	Western Union (MT)	Senior Marketing Manager for Spain and Portugal	Madrid	personal	40
3	22/03/2011	Orange (MP)	Personal Marketing Department	/	telephonic	40
4	06/05/2011	MasMóvil (MP)	Co-founder and Delegate Counselor	/	email	/
	29/04/2011			/	telephonic (follow-up)	10
5	27/05/2011	MoneyGram (MT)	Senior Marketing Executive	/	email	/
	12/09/2011			Madrid	personal (follow-up)	10
6	15/07/2011	Yoigo (MP)	Customer department	/	telephonic	5
7	12/09/2011	Telefónica (MP)	Voice Development Chief- Residential Marketing	Madrid	personal	47
8	31/10/2011	Vodafone	Marketing Department	/	email	/
9	28/11/2011	Orbitel (MP)	Regional Director for Catalonia	Barcelona	personal	54
10	03/07/2012	Teleminutos	Salesperson	Barcelona	personal	120

Appendix F. Guiding questionnaire for company spokespersons, the Lebara example.

- **La empresa**

1) Lebara llegó a España en el 2007, a un mercado en expansión y fuertemente competitivo. ¿Qué desafíos había entonces para posicionar a la empresa en ese escenario?
2) Mirando hacia atrás en perspectiva, a la fecha de hoy, ¿qué balance se hace de lo actuado?
3) ¿Qué papel juega el colectivo inmigrante en la estrategia comercial de la empresa?
4) ¿Cómo se organiza la filial española/Barcelona de la empresa? (cómo se realiza la toma de decisiones, el perfil de empleados, su nacionalidad, promedio de edad, y funciones)
4.1¿Es esta organización de España/Barcelona similar a las filiales de Lebara en otros países Europeos?

- **Los servicios**

5) ¿Qué fortalezas, oportunidades, desafíos y amenazas se pueden identificar en la oferta de servicios de la empresa?

- **Imagen, comunicación y marketing**

6) ¿Qué estrategias de marketing se utilizan?
7) En estos años, ¿cuáles han sido los períodos de mayor implementación de estas estrategias?
8) ¿Qué fuentes de información sobre la población inmigrante manejan para diseñar dichas estrategias? (INE, investigaciones de mercado propias o tercerizadas, etc)
9) En el caso puntual de la publicidad, ¿cuál es el proceso detrás de cada pieza publicitaria? (pautas de *briefing*, etc.)
10) ¿Son las estrategias de marketing y las publicidades en España similares a las de Lebara en otros países?
11) ¿Se trabaja con alguna segmentación específica dentro del colectivo inmigrante? (ej: nacionalidad, sexo, edad, rol familiar, otros)

- **Los usuarios**

12) ¿Cuáles son las necesidades del colectivo inmigrante que lo diferencian de otros segmentos de consumidores?
13) ¿En qué medida son los usuarios activos en cuanto a dar *feedback*, proponer ideas para mejorar los servicios o solicitar nuevos?
15) La cifras de inmigrantes en España han descendido en los últimos tiempos. ¿Qué implican estos cambios demográficos para la estrategia empresarial de Lebara?

Appendix G. Guiding questionnaire for migrant informants[156]

A. Datos de la persona entrevistada: **nombre (opcional); edad; educación, país de nacimiento**

B. Información personal

B.1. ¿Cuál es su nacionalidad?

B.2. ¿Cuál es su lugar de nacimiento? (urbano/rural)

B.3. ¿En qué año llegó a Catalunya?

[156] The questions I designed exclusively for my thesis project appear in red colour and were incorporated in a broader general questionnaire used for two projects carried by the Migration and Network Society Program in 2011 (*Immigrant women in the Catalan network society*, supported by L'Institut Català de les Dones and *E-administration and immigration in Catalonia*, supported by Generalitat de Catalunya).

B.4. ¿Por qué ha venido a Catalunya? (estudiar, trabajar; salud/atención sanitaria; motivos políticos o humanitarios; reagrupamiento familiar, etc.)

B.5. ¿Y desde cuándo vives en Barcelona/Reus?

B.6. ¿Por qué motivos has venido?

B.7. ¿Qué información de Barcelona tenías antes de llegar?

B.8. (Si tenías información previa)¿ **Cómo has recibido esa información?**

- informante (familiar, amigo, intermediario, empleador, etc.)

- medio (móvil, tel.fijo, email, Internet, carta, etc?

B.9. ¿En qué otros sitios has vivido antes de venir a Barcelona/Reus?

B.10. Cuándo recién habías llegado a Barcelona, ¿recuerdas cuál de estas cosas hiciste primero:

- ir al locutorio?

- comprar/recargar un móvil?

- empadronarte?

- ir al ayuntamiento?

B.11. ¿Está casada o convive con su pareja? (si, casada; si, convivo; viuda; no)

B.12. ¿Dónde vive su cónyuge/pareja? (en su país de origen; en Catalunya; en España; en otro país)

B.13. ¿De qué nacionalidad es su cónyuge/pareja? (de su misma nacionalidad; español; de otra nacionalidad)

B.14 ¿Tiene hijos? ¿Cuántos?

B.15. Si sí, **¿viven con usted?** Si no, **¿dónde?**

B.16. ¿Cuántos años tienen sus hijos?

B.17. ¿Tiene planes de solicitar la ciudadanía española? ¿Por qué?

B.18. Qué planes futuros tienes?

C. Educación

C.1. ¿Se le ha reconocido algún título en Catalunya? Si sí, **¿después de cuantos años de solicitarlo?**

C.2. ¿Ha hecho/hace algún curso de formación en Catalunya? ¿Cuál? ¿Ha conseguido algún título? ¿Cuál?

C.2.1. Si sí, **¿ha hecho alguno por Internet? ¿Cuál y por qué?** Si no, **¿por qué?**

C.2.2. Si no**, ¿por qué motivo no ha cursado nada en Catalunya?** (costo, ubicación de la sede, dificultad horaria, problemas con el idioma, problemas con el permiso de residencia, falta de tiempo, falta de interés/no lo he pensado, etc.)

C.3. ¿Cuántos idiomas habla incluida la/s lengua/s maternas?

C.4. ¿Cuál es su grado de conocimiento de los idiomas catalán y castellano?

Idioma	Comprensión	Hablado	Escrito
Catalán			
Castellano			

Nota: B=bajo; M=medio; A=alto;

C.5. ¿Sabía de la existencia del catalán antes de llegar a Catalunya? Si sí**, ¿cómo lo sabía?**

C.6. ¿Hablaba usted catalán y/o castellano antes de venir aquí? Si sí, **¿cómo lo aprendió?**

C.7. ¿**Ha hecho cursos para aprender el catalán o el castellano? ¿Cuál ha sido su motivación principal?** (para obtener la residencia, por motivos laborales, por motivos familiares, para integrarme mejor, etc.)

C.7.1. Si sí, **¿cuál es el último certificado de castellano/catalán obtenido?**

D. Inclusión y competencias digitales

D.1. ¿De qué tecnología dispone en su hogar? (Radio; Teléfono fijo/móvil; ordenador; Internet; TV; TV de pago)

D.2. Teléfono móvil

D.2.1. ¿Tienes más de un teléfono móvil? ¿por qué razones?

D.2.2. ¿Qué tipo de teléfono móvil es/son según modelo/aplicaciones (c/cámara, táctil, etc.)

D.2.3. ¿Desde cuándo lo utilizas?

D.2.4. ¿Cómo has aprendido a utilizarlo?

D.2.5. De media, ¿con que frecuencia usa el teléfono móvil? ¿Por qué?

D.2.6. ¿Qué funciones utilizas y con qué frecuencia?

- Hacer/recibir llamadas / "dar un toque" a nacionales y/o internacionales

- mensajes SMS/MMS

- Internet (Wireles application protocol), 3G (video llamadas, Enviar/recibir fotos y/o documentos), correc electrónico.

- escuchar la radio, escuchar música, ver TV

- otros (despertador, juegos, agenda*)*

D.2.7. ¿Ha utilizado alguna vez el teléfono móvil para su trabajo? ¿Para qué?

D.2.8. ¿Con quién sueles comunicarte más frecuentemente? (ej: los 5 números más marcados en el último mes) ¿Cuáles son llamadas nacionales? ¿E internacionales?

D.2.9. ¿Con qué otros medios se complementa esta comunicación? (otro móvil o SIM card, Internet, teléfonc fijo, locutorio, cabinas en la vía pública, visitas cara a cara, cartas postales, etc.). ¿Qué ventajas y desventajas tiene el locutorio para ti?

D.2.10. En las llamadas internacionales, ¿hay días/horas fijados de antemano para esta comunicación?

D.3. Operador móvil

D.3.1) ¿Tienes contrato? ¿Qué tipo de contrato? (ej: contrato standard/plan especial) Por qué? (qué ventajas respecto a tarjeta prepago u otros)

D.3.2) ¿Usas tarjeta prepago? ¿Por qué? (qué ventajas respecto a contrato u otros)

D.3.3) ¿Usas tarjetas de llamadas internacionales (tipo "rasca")? ¿Qué tipo? ¿Por qué? (qué ventajas respecto a otros)

D.3.4) ¿Qué empresa(s) te provee el servicio de telefonía móvil?

- **¿Por qué has elegido esa(s)?** (precio, boca a boca, publicidad, etc)

- **¿Anteriormente has utilizado otras opciones de telefonía móvil** (contrato, tarjeta SIM o rasca, etc)**? Has probado otras empresas?**

- **¿Para ti, resulta fácil cambiar de empresa?**

- **¿Estás satisfech@ como usuari@ de esta empresa (s)?** (muy/poco/nada) ¿Por qué?

- **¿Has recibido publicidad de esa u otras empresas del sector por el móvil u otros medios** (correo postal, email, tel.fijo, etc)?

D.3.5) ¿Cuánto dinero destinas al uso del móvil por mes/semana?

D.3.6) ¿Qué otros gastos en telefonía tienes (locutorio, tarjetas, etc)?

D.3.7) ¿Crees que la información que dan las empresas de telefonía sobre los costos de las llamadas es clara/precisa/completa?

D.3.8) ¿Has contactado con el servicio de atención al cliente? ¿Han atendido tu consulta?

D.4 Competencias digitales

D.4.1. ¿Para qué tipo de actividades acostumbra a utilizar el ordenador? (juego/recreación/ entretenimiento; hobby/actividades creativas; gestión del hogar/asuntos familiares; compras on-line; comunicarse con los suyos; trabajo; estudio)

D.4.2. ¿Que sabe hacer en el ordenador? (copiar y/o mover un documento/una carpeta de trabajo; utilizar la función "copiar" y "pegar" para duplicar información; utilizar comandos aritméticos como suma, resta, multiplicación, división; comprimir documentos; conectar/instalar nuevos periféricos como por ejemplo impresora, módem, etc.; crear un programa informático usando lenguajes específicos de programación; otras)

D.4.3. ¿Sabría decirme el nombre de algún programa informático?

D.4.4. ¿Cómo ha aprendido lo que sabe de las nuevas tecnologías? (Internet/ ordenador/ móvil) (familiares/amigos y/o conocidos; escuela; centro de estudios superiores; universidad; asociaciones sin fines de lucro como fundación, cooperativa, etc.; punto de acceso publico como centro de empleo, biblioteca, centro cívico; punto de acceso privado como Internet café, locutorio, etc.; autodidacta/sola).

D.5. Uso del ordenador e Internet

D.5.1. ¿Dispone en su vivienda de algún tipo de ordenador? ¿De que tipo? (ordenador de sobremesa - PC; ordenador portátil; ordenador de mano – agenda electrónica o similar, PDA, pocket PC, palmtop, etc.)

D.5.2. ¿Dispone en su vivienda de acceso a Internet? Si no, **¿por que?** (acceso desde otro lugar; por sus contenidos perjudiciales, peligrosos etc.; no le resulta útil, interesante, etc.; los costes altos del equipo; los costes elevados de conexión; poco conocimiento para utilizarlo; razones relativas a la seguridad o privacidad; discapacidad física; situación administrativa irregular; etc.)

D.5.3. De media, ¿con que frecuencia usa Internet? (diariamente; algunas veces por semana; algunas veces a mes; ocasionalmente, nunca**) ¿Por qué?**

D.5.4. ¿Desde que lugar utiliza normalmente Internet? (su vivienda; el centro de trabajo; el centro de estudios, otra vivienda de familiares o conocidos; un centro público – ayuntamiento, biblioteca pública u centros oficiales, locutorios o cibercafés; una asociación o centro cívico; un área publica con red inalámbrica – hotspot, etc.)

D.5.5. ¿Ha accedido alguna vez a Internet desde la calle como, por ejemplo, de un teléfono móvil, un ordenador de mano o un ordenador portátil? ¿Por qué?

D.5.6. ¿Usa Internet para comunicarse? Si sí, **¿cómo se comunica a través de Internet?** (Enviar/recibir correo electrónico; Telefonear o videollamadas; Envío de mensajes a chats, blogs, grupos de noticias o foros de discusión, uso de mensajería instantánea como el Messenger) **Si no, ¿por qué?**

D.5.7. ¿Suele buscar información a través de Internet? Si sí, **¿qué tipo?** (sobre bienes y servicios; noticias, periódicos o revistas de actualidad on-line; sobre educación, formación u otro tipo de curso; buscar empleo; para algún tipo de aprendizaje; Escuchar radios y/o ver TV) **Si no, ¿por qué?**

D.5.8. ¿Utiliza algún servicio on-line en Internet? Si sí, **¿qué servicios on-line?** (servicios relacionados con viajes y alojamientos; Colgar contenidos propios – texto, imágenes, videos, música, etc.- en una pagina web para ser compartidos; Descargar software; Jugar o descargar juegos, imágenes, películas o música; usar banca electrónica, vender/comprar bienes o servicios; enviar una solicitud a un puesto de trabajo; Teletrabajar; realizar algún curso vía Internet de cualquier materia; cursar estudios elementales/medios/superiores a distancia, etc.). **Si no, ¿por qué?**

D.5.9. ¿Utiliza el ordenador para tareas que no requieran Internet? ¿Qué tareas?

E. TIC e inclusión laboral

E.1. Situación laboral

E.1.1. ¿Trabajaba antes de emigrar y que ocupación tenia? Si no, **¿por qué?**

E.1.2. Y aquí en Catalunya, **¿Qué tipo de trabajos ha desarrollado? ¿Cómo lo ha hecho, quién le ha ayudado? ¿Fue un cambio positivo/a mejor?**

E.1.3. Y ahora, ¿**donde trabaja y que ocupación desempeña?** Si no trabaja, **¿por qué?**

E.1.4. ¿Su trabajo es temporal o indefinido? ¿Por qué?

E.1.5. ¿Trabaja media jornada/ jornada completa? ¿Por qué?

E.1.6. ¿Su salario es suficiente para cubrir las necesidades básicas familiares? ¿Por qué?

E.1.7. ¿Existen otras fuentes de ingreso en la familia? ¿De que fuentes se trata? (subsidio de desempleo/ paro, salario de otros miembros de la familia; ayuda para la creación de empresa/autoempleo; pensión de viudez, pensión de invalidez; ayuda de asociaciones)

E.1.8. En general, ¿está satisfecha/o con su posición laboral? (para nada; poco; parcialmente; completamente) **¿Por qué?**

E.1.9. ¿Que aspectos en concreto le gustaría mejorar de su trabajo actual? (tipo de contracto; salario; propia posición laboral; poder conciliar familia y trabajo; ambiente laboral; etc.) ¿Por qué?

E.1.10. ¿Qué tipo de trabajo le gustaría conseguir en el futuro? ¿Lo ve posible o no? ¿Por qué?

E.1.11. ¿Quien cree que puede ayudarle a encontrar/ mantener/ mejorar su posición laboral? (canales/ redes asociativas; recomendaciones de familiares y/o de amigas/os; canales informales de la comunidad de

pertenencia; canales sindicales; contacto con centros públicos para el empleo; páginas web institucionales y/c otros)

E.2. TIC e inclusión laboral

E.2.1. ¿Cree que Internet puede ayudar a mejorar la posición laboral de uno? ¿Cómo? (buscar/encontrar trabajc por Internet; formación a través de cursos on-line; información a través de sitios web especializados; mostrar/vender productos o servicios en la web; adquirir competencias especificas en los programas aprendidos; para la formación profesional; para informarme; para comercializar productos o servicios; para adquirir competencias tecnológicas especificas, etc.)

E.2.2. Y a usted, ¿le ha ayudado a mejorar su posición laboral? ¿Cómo?

E.2.3. ¿Qué conocimientos cree que necesita para mejorar sus oportunidades laborales? (lingüísticas, comunicativas, tecnológicas, sociales y cívicas, culturales, matemáticas i científicas, etc.) ¿Por qué?

E.2.4. ¿Tiene su CV redactado? ¿Como lo hizo?

E.2.5. ¿Tiene su propio sitio web? ¿Por qué?

D.2.6. ¿Tiene un Blog personal? Si sí, **¿con que objetivo lo creó?**

F. TIC y Capital Social

F.1. Capital red (I)

F.1.1. ¿Para comunicarse con tus familiares y amigos más cercanos que viven aquí, que medios utilizas habitualmente? (Teléfono fijo, teléfono móvil, Internet, visitas cara a cara, cartas postales) **¿De donde son estos amigos cercanos?**

Si se comunica por teléfono móvil y/o Internet:

¿Cómo se comunica? (llamada, SMS, MNS, correo electrónico/ chat /redes sociales)

¿Con qué frecuencia?

¿Por qué?

F.1.2. ¿Para comunicarse con tus familiares y amigos más cercanos que viven en otros países como, por ejemplo, tu país de origen, que medios utilizas habitualmente? (Teléfono fijo, teléfono móvil, correo electrónico, visitas, cartas postales) **¿De donde son la mayoría de sus amigos que viven fuera?**

Si se comunica por teléfono móvil y/o Internet:

¿Cómo se comunica? (llamada, SMS/MNS, correo electrónico/ chat /redes sociales)

¿Con qué frecuencia?

¿Por qué?

F.1.3. ¿Cómo se comunica habitualmente con sus compañeros de trabajo o otra gente que ha conocido aquí? (por teléfono fijo, teléfono móvil, correo electrónico, visitas cara a cara, cartas postales) **¿De dónde son la mayoría de estas personas?**

Si se comunica por teléfono móvil y/o Internet:

¿Cómo se comunica? (llamada, SMS/MNS, correo electrónico/ Chat /redes sociales)

¿Con qué frecuencia? ¿Por qué?

F.2 Compromiso comunitario

F.2.1. La familia online

F.2.1.1. ¿Considera que **el teléfono móvil/Internet facilitan el mantenimiento de sus relaciones familiares? ¿En que sentido? ¿Le comporta algún inconveniente en concreto este tipo de relación familiar?**

F.2.1.2. Si tiene familiares en su país de origen, **¿cree que está al día de las cosas que ocurren en su familia a distancia? ¿Tiene responsabilidades concretas respecto a su familia a distancia? ¿Cuáles?** (educación hijos, transferencia dinero, seguimiento salud, etc…) **¿A través del uso del teléfono móvil y/o Internet siente que sigue formando parte de su familia o no? ¿Por que? ¿Este tipo de comunicación le supone algún inconveniente en concreto?**

F.2.1. Sentimiento de comunidad/alienación online

F.2.1.1. Se siente parte de algún grupo o comunidad en concreto como por ejemplo: (club de deportes, videojuegos, hobbies, fans de…, aficiones, de tu país en el mundo, festividades, etc.)

F.2.1.2. ¿Utilizas el móvil o Internet para mantener esas relaciones o sentimientos de grupo?

F.2.1.3. ¿Cuales son las ventajas y desventajas de relacionarte en esos grupos a través de Internet i el móvil?

F.1. Capital red (II)

F.1.4. Redes Sociales

F.1.4.1. ¿Es parte de una red social como Facebook, Myspace, etc.? Si sí, **¿Con que frecuencia se conecta participa en la red?** Si no, **¿Por qué?**

F.1.4.2. ¿Me podría decir quién y de donde son la mayoría de sus amistades en esta red social? (cuantos de cada sitio)

F.3. Capital participativo y participación política

F3.1. Participas en alguna asociación u organización como… (Asociación de inmigrantes; Iglesia/mezquita; Cruz Roja; Caritas; Intermon-Oxfam; asociación de mujeres; cooperativa de consumo, etc.)

¿De dónde es esta asociación?

¿Qué actividad desempeña/ba?

¿Utiliza/ba Internet o el teléfono móvil para participar en esta asociación?

¿Por qué y para qué? (recibir/enviar información; opinar; hacer pedidos; etc.)

¿Con qué frecuencia?

Si no, **¿por qué?**

F.3.2. Participación política en Catalunya i transnacional

F.3.2.1. ¿Sigue la política de Catalunya? ¿A través de que medios de información? ¿Por qué?

F.3.2.2. Y de su país de origen, ¿sigue la política? ¿A través de que medios de información?

F.3.2.3. ¿Es o ha sido miembro de algún partido político? ¿Cuál y desde cuándo?

F.3.2.4. . Y de su país de origen, ¿es o ha sido miembro de algún partido político? ¿De cuál? ¿Desde/ hasta cuándo?

F.3.2.5. ¿Ha apoyado alguna campaña electoral de algún partido/candidato? ¿Cuándo y de quien?

F.3.2.6. ¿Ha realizado alguna vez alguna transferencia monetaria a algún partido político/candidato/otro grupo a favor o en contra de un candidato?

F.3.2.7. ¿Participa o ha participado alguna vez en alguna **manifestación/ firma de petición/ debate político/ boicot aquí en Catalunya?** Si sí, **¿cuándo ha sido la última vez? ¿Me lo podría especificar? ¿Utiliza o ha utilizado alguna vez la tecnología en estas actividades?** (teléfono móvil; Internet**) ¿Qué tecnología y para qué?** (firma de petición, movilización, debate político, boicot, etc.)

F.3.2.8. ¿Lucha o ha luchado alguna vez contra la discriminación y marginalización de las personas inmigradas que viven aquí en Catalunya? ¿En qué ocasión? ¿Tiene o ha tenido algún apoyo por parte del gobierno/embajada de su país de origen en esta lucha? ¿Me podría especificar?

F.3.2.9. ¿Es o ha sido miembro de alguna asociación/organización dedicada a ayudar a su comunidad de origen y/o a desarrollar proyectos en esta misma comunidad? ¿Cuál y qué tipo de proyectos?

F.3.2.10. ¿Ha utilizado alguna vez la tecnología para alguna de estas formas de participación política? (teléfono móvil; Internet**) ¿Qué tecnología utilizó y para que?** (transferencias monetarias; apoyo online etc.)

F.3.2.11. ¿Tiene derecho de voto en su país de origen? ¿Lo ejerce? ¿Cuando ha sido la última vez que voto en las elecciones nacionales? Si no, **¿por qué?**

F.3.2.12. ¿Participa o ha participado alguna vez en alguna forma de apoyo/oposición del régimen político del país de origen y/o a algunas medidas políticas hacia los emigrados que viven fuera? ¿Me puede especificar cuándo y por qué?

F.3.2.13. ¿Ha utilizado alguna vez el teléfono móvil y/o Internet para alguna de estas formas de participación? ¿Cuál y para qué? (transferencias monetarias, etc.)

F.3.2.14. ¿Colabora con algún periódico online/web TV/web radio/portal de su país/ comunidad de origen? ¿De qué manera?

G. e-Government

G.1 Confianza en los gobiernos

G.1.1. De los diferentes niveles de gobierno (Gobierno de España; Generalitat de Catalunya; Diputació, Ajuntament), **¿en que administración pública de este país confía más? ¿Con cual tiene más interacción?**

G.1.2. ¿Confía en alguna otra institución (no-gubernamental) de este país? (Iglesia, una mezquita, una ONG, una empresa multinacional, etc**.) ¿En cuál y por qué?**

G.1.3. ¿Confía en alguna otra fuente de información como algún portal web, buscador o red social como Facebook, Myspace, Twitter? ¿En cuál y por qué?

G.1.4. ¿Confía más en estas redes sociales que en el gobierno? ¿Por qué?

G.2. Participación y gobernanza

G.2.1. ¿Cree que es importante que el gobierno publique información en su página web? ¿Por qué?

G.2.2. ¿Cree que es importante que el gobierno permita el contacto o la realización de trámites a través de su pagina web? ¿Por qué?

G.2.3. ¿Cree que es importante que el gobierno facilite la toma de decisiones colectivas en su sitio web a través de foros, procedimientos de votación, etc.? ¿Por qué?

G.2.4. ¿Ha participado usted alguna vez en este tipo de foros, debates, votación online? ¿En que ocasión?

G.2.5. ¿Considera que decisiones importantes sobre la política de un país se pueden tomar también en otros espacios virtuales como el Facebook, Twitter, etc., y por qué?

G.3 Uso y acceso a la administración

G.3.1. Cuando debe realizar un trámite con el gobierno, ¿qué medios de comunicación prefiere utilizar? (llamar por teléfono; visitar a una persona; escribir una carta; visitar una página web; mandar un correo electrónico) **¿Por qué?**

G.3.2. ¿En los últimos 12 meses, ha contactado alguna vez con el gobierno local/ autonómico/ estatal? ¿A través de que medio de comunicación? (Internet, teléfono fijo/móvil, carta, cara a cara) **¿Sobre que asunto en concreto? ¿Le ha resultado efectivo hacerlo de esta manera? ¿Por qué?**

G.3.2.1. Si no contacta nunca con nadie del gobierno, **¿por qué?**

G.3.3. ¿Utiliza algún tipo de servicio público como educación, sanidad, servicios sociales, agencia de empleo, servicio de acogida?

G.3.4. ¿Cual es su forma de acceso habitual a estos servicios públicos? (visitas cara a cara, teléfono fijo/móvil, Internet)

G.3.5. En su lista de contactos en el teléfono móvil, ¿tiene algún número de algún servicio público en concreto? ¿De cuál y por qué? (SOC, CAP…)

G.4. Uso de la administración electrónica

G.4.1. ¿Conoce la dirección de correo electrónico o alguna pagina Web de algún servicio público en concreto? ¿De cuál y por qué? (SOC, CAP…)

G.4.2. ¿Accede o ha accedido alguna vez a los servicios públicos a través de Internet? ¿Con que frecuencia y por qué? (siempre que lo necesita, a veces, nunca)

G.4.3. De su punto de vista, ¿hay algún servicio público en concreto que considera que tiene una página web muy buena? ¿Cual y por qué? ¿Y algún servicio público en concreto con una página web muy mala? ¿Cuál y por que?

G.4.4. ¿Realiza usted algún trámite administrativo a través de Internet? ¿Con que frecuencia?

G.4.5. ¿Cómo sabe a qué página de la Administración pública se debe dirigir en caso de necesitarlo? ¿De donde obtiene normalmente esta información?

G.4.6. ¿Qué problemas encuentra al usar los servicios públicos electrónicos?

Necesidades especificas: lengua, aspectos familiares y/o de genero, la ayuda que hay en la web, falta de un contacto personal

Organización y estructura de la pagina web

G.4.6.1. Si no hace ningún trámite administrativo por Internet/online, ¿por qué?

G.5. Satisfacción con la administración electrónica

G.5.1. ¿Le gustaría poder acceder en el futuro a algún/ otro servicio público a través de Internet? ¿A cual y por qué?

G.5.2. ¿Cree que las paginas webs de la administración pública son una buena herramienta? ¿Por qué?

G.5.3. ¿Qué podrían hacer las administraciones públicas, a nivel municipal y de Catalunya, para mejorar los servicios públicos que necesita?

F. Evío de dinero

F.1.¿Envías dinero a las personas importantes para ti? (familia, amistades, comunidad, etc.)

Si no, **¿Por qué? ¿Te gustaría hacerlo?**

Si si, **¿Siempre has enviado lo mismo o ha ido variando en el tiempo? ¿Cómo realizas los envíos?**

intermediario: "formal" (empresa remesadora u otra, banco, etc.) o

"informal" (familiar, amistades, conocidos que viajan)

F.2.Si el envío es formal, ¿Qué empresa te provee el servicio?

F.2.1, ¿Haces el envío desde un punto de venta de la empresa y/o internet?

F.2.2. ¿Hay algún motivo por el cual has elegido esa? (precio, boca a boca, publicidad, etc)

F.2.3. ¿Anteriormente has utilizado otras formas y/o empresas de envíos de dinero?

F.2.4. ¿Estás satisfech@ como usuari@ de esta empresa? (muy/poco/nada). Por qué?

F.2.5. ¿Has contactado con el servicio de atención al cliente? ¿Han atendido tu consulta?

F.3. ¿Con qué frecuencia envías dinero?

F.4.¿Cuánto sueles enviar?

F.4.1 ¿Qué porcentaje/proporción de tus ingresos semanales/mensuales sueles enviar?

F.4.2. ¿Para qué se usa el dinero que envías? (proyecto económico, personal, familiar, comunitario; educación -matrículas, materiales, juguetes-; salud; alquiler o construcción de vivienda; comida; ropa; celebraciones; otros)

F.4.3.¿Quién recibe, administra y/o decide esos usos?

F.4.4. ¿Alguna vez has sabido que el dinero que enviabas se usaba con fines distintos al que tu esperabas?

F.4.5. ¿Recibes pedidos extraordinarios para que envíes más dinero del que me comentabas antes?

F.4.6.¿Cómo se realiza ese pedido(s)? (teléfono fijo, móvil, email, a través de conocidos que viajan, etc)

F.4.7. ¿En caso de enviarse, cómo se realiza el envío? (procedimiento habitual antes mencionado u otro)

F.4.8.¿Con qué otros medios se complementa este apoyo económico? (ej: envío de objetos por correo postal, recarga de saldos de móviles, compras a distancia, etc)

G. Joint reading of ads

G.1. ¿Conoces estas piezas publicitarias?

G.2. ¿Qué ves en ellas? ¿A quién crees que van dirijidas? ¿Qué mensajes crees que quieren transmitir?

G.3. ¿Te sientes identificad@/representad@ con las personas representadas? ¿Por qué?

G.4. ¿Consideras que reflejan tu experiencia o la de alguien de tu entorno? (vivencia de la distancia,

espacio/tiempo, ausencia/presencia, las responsabilidades familiares, etc.)

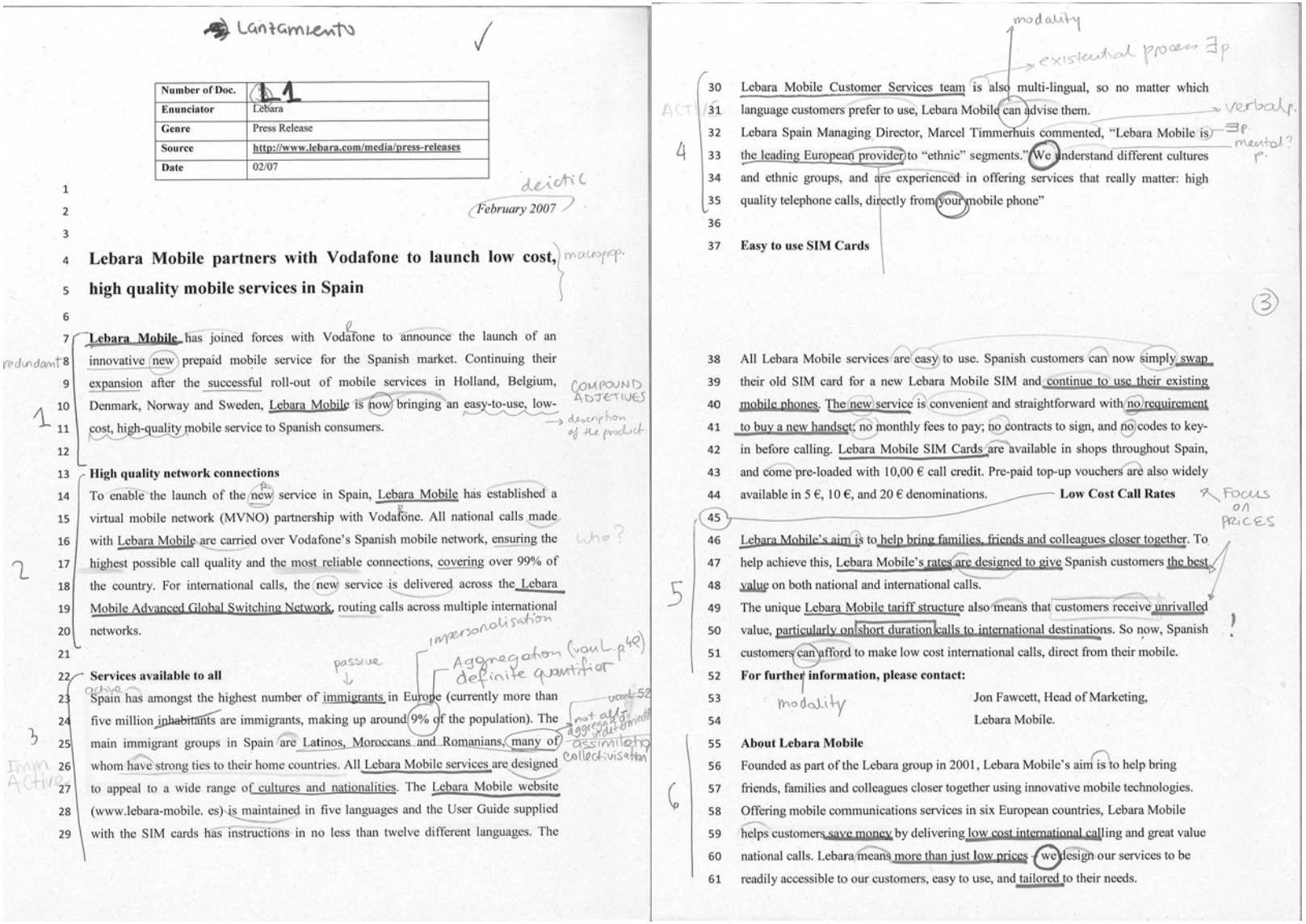
G.5. ¿Consideras que hay mucha/demasiada publicidad para la gente que viene de otros países?

Appendix H. Print and outdoor advertisements discussed with migrant informants.

Figure H.1. Advertising Telefónica-Movistar. Source: Google images, retrieved May 25, 2013.

Figure H.2. Advertising Vodafone. Source: metro Barcelona, 2012

Figure H.3. Advertising Vodafone. Source: metro Barcelona, 2012



Lançamento ✓

Number of Doc.	1
Enunciator	Lebara
Genre	Press Release
Source	http://www.lebara.com/media/press-releases
Date	02/07

deictic

February 2007

macropp.

Lebara Mobile partners with Vodafone to launch low cost, high quality mobile services in Spain

Lebara Mobile has joined forces with Vodafone to announce the launch of an innovative new prepaid mobile service for the Spanish market. Continuing their expansion after the successful roll-out of mobile services in Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, Lebara Mobile is now bringing an easy-to-use, low-cost, high-quality mobile service to Spanish consumers.

redundant

COMPOUND ADJETIVES

description of the product

1

High quality network connections

To enable the launch of the new service in Spain, Lebara Mobile has established a virtual mobile network (MVNO) partnership with Vodafone. All national calls made with Lebara Mobile are carried over Vodafone's Spanish mobile network, ensuring the highest possible call quality and the most reliable connections, covering over 99% of the country. For international calls, the new service is delivered across the Lebara Mobile Advanced Global Switching Network, routing calls across multiple international networks.

who?

2

impersonalisation

Services available to all

passive

active

Spain has amongst the highest number of immigrants in Europe (currently more than five million inhabitants are immigrants, making up around 9% of the population). The main immigrant groups in Spain are Latinos, Moroccans and Romanians, many of whom have strong ties to their home countries. All Lebara Mobile services are designed to appeal to a wide range of cultures and nationalities. The Lebara Mobile website (www.lebara-mobile. es) is maintained in five languages and the User Guide supplied with the SIM cards has instructions in no less than twelve different languages. The

Aggregation (vaul. p.42) definite quantifier

vaul. 52

not aggregation assimilating collectivisation

3

Imm Active

modality

existential process ∃p

Lebara Mobile Customer Services team is also multi-lingual, so no matter which language customers prefer to use, Lebara Mobile can advise them.

verbal p.

Lebara Spain Managing Director, Marcel Timmerhuis commented, "Lebara Mobile is the leading European provider to "ethnic" segments." We understand different cultures and ethnic groups, and are experienced in offering services that really matter: high quality telephone calls, directly from your mobile phone"

∃p mental? p.

ACT

4

Easy to use SIM Cards

3

All Lebara Mobile services are easy to use. Spanish customers can now simply swap their old SIM card for a new Lebara Mobile SIM and continue to use their existing mobile phones. The new service is convenient and straightforward with no requirement to buy a new handset; no monthly fees to pay; no contracts to sign, and no codes to key-in before calling. Lebara Mobile SIM Cards are available in shops throughout Spain, and come pre-loaded with 10,00 € call credit. Pre-paid top-up vouchers are also widely available in 5 €, 10 €, and 20 € denominations.

Low Cost Call Rates

FOCUS ON PRICES

!

5

Lebara Mobile's aim is to help bring families, friends and colleagues closer together. To help achieve this, Lebara Mobile's rates are designed to give Spanish customers the best value on both national and international calls.

The unique Lebara Mobile tariff structure also means that customers receive unrivalled value, particularly on short duration calls to international destinations. So now, Spanish customers can afford to make low cost international calls, direct from their mobile.

For further information, please contact:

modality

Jon Fawcett, Head of Marketing,
Lebara Mobile.

About Lebara Mobile

6

Founded as part of the Lebara group in 2001, Lebara Mobile's aim is to help bring friends, families and colleagues closer together using innovative mobile technologies. Offering mobile communications services in six European countries, Lebara Mobile helps customers save money by delivering low cost international calling and great value national calls. Lebara means more than just low prices - we design our services to be readily accessible to our customers, easy to use, and tailored to their needs.

B) annual report ✓

Number of Document	L2
Enunciator	Lebara
Genre	Press release/Infomercial
Source	**http://www.noticiasdot.com** [1]
Date	~~7/6/08~~ 15/2/08

Lebara Móvil vendió 122.000 tarjetas en su primer año y espera distribuir un 39,3% más en 2008

15 febrero 2008

By Redacción de Noticiasdot.com

Lebara Móvil, operador móvil virtual especializado en el segmento de inmigrantes, vendió 122.000 tarjetas de prepago durante su primer año en España y espera distribuir un 39,3% más en 2008, según anunció hoy su director general, Marcel Timmerhuis, en rueda de prensa. ↳verbal procen

Timmerhuis señaló que la compañía tiene previsto facturar ocho millones de euros durante el ejercicio en curso. Según los informes trimestrales de la Comisión del Mercado de las Telecomunicaciones (CMT), la operadora ingresó 690.000 euros entre marzo y agosto de 2007.

El directivo señaló que la recarga media mensual de sus clientes es de 15 euros y los principales destinos de sus llamadas son Colombia, Ecuador, Marruecos y Rumanía. Según sus estimaciones, un 65% del tráfico de las llamadas internacionales se genera en locutorios, mientras que un 25% se realiza a través de tarjetas prepago y otro 10% mediante el teléfono móvil. %

El grupo Lebara desembarcó en España en febrero de 2007, como operador móvil virtual después de llegar a un acuerdo con Vodafone para alquilar su infraestructura. La compañía se estrenó con una única tarifa plana de prepago en la que las llamadas nacionales se cobraban a 16 céntimos el minuto, las internacionales a partir de 10 céntimos el minuto, y las realizadas a otro móvil Lebara a 8 céntimos.

elipsis (se cobraban)

En cuanto a la posibilidad de ofrecer tarifas de contrato a sus clientes, el responsable de la filial española descartó que la compañía tenga previsto estrenarlo durante el presente año.

Las tarjetas de Lebara Móvil se venden actualmente en 130.000 puntos de venta o recarga, como locutorios, estaciones de servicio, gasolineras, cajeros o kioscos, así como en los más de 50 puntos oficiales que la compañía posee en Madrid, Barcelona y Valencia, y que se incrementarán hasta 200 este año. para taxis?

[1] http://www.noticiasdot.com/wp2/2008/02/15/lebara-movil-vendio-122000-tarjetas-en-su-primer-ano-y-espera-distribuir-un-393-mas-en-2008/

Año nuevo, tarifa nueva

verbal procen ← Por su parte, el responsable de Ventas de Lebara Móvil España, Miguel Ángel Díaz, anunció que la compañía ha decidido cambiar su modelo tarifario para adaptarse al mercado y ajustar sus precios, después de realizar estudios de mercado sobre los hábitos de consumo de sus clientes.

A partir de ahora, Lebara ofrecerá en España dos tarifas: **'Lebara bienvenida'** y **'Lebara económico'**. La primera de ellas se aplicará por defecto al comprar una tarjeta SIM y mantiene los precios iniciales de la compañía. Los clientes que soliciten el cambio de tarifa deberán abonar 4,06 euros.

En la segunda tarifa, la operadora aplica un horario 'súper reducido', entre las 20.00 y las 24.00 horas, en el que las llamadas nacionales costarán 9 céntimos el minuto, las internacionales a partir de 3,9 céntimos, y las efectuadas entre móviles de la compañía serán gratis, aunque se cobrarán 15 céntimos de establecimiento de llamada.

verbal procen Díaz explicó que en la tarifa 'económica' existe un límite de 30 minutos por llamada entre clientes de Lebara, y un máximo de 60 minutos al día. Una vez superado dicho máximo, se cobrarán 8 céntimos por minuto.

C) campaign I ✓

Number of Document	13
Enunciator	Lebara
Genre	Press release/Infomercial
Source	Toumai Magazine[1]
Date	7/6/10

Target: customers — formato entrevista - first person plural "we" omitted subject

Óscar Vergés, director de Lebara España

La empresa de telefonía *Lebara Móvil* (*www.lebara-movil.es*) pondrá en juego el sorteo de 60 viajes al país de origen del cliente. → publi

Lunes, 07 de Junio de 2010 11:00 Óscar Rodríguez. Foto: Lebara Móvil

Para participar en el concurso, los interesados tienen que inscribirse en *www.lebaratellevaacasa.com* y realizar el mayor número posible de llamadas internacionales hasta el 5 de julio de 2010. El director general de la compañía en España, Óscar Vergés, habla de éste y otros temas.

Individuation nomination functional satis

TOUMAÏ_ Pese a la crisis, la compañía sigue apostando por el mercado de inmigrantes.

ADJective

Óscar Vergés_ Lebara es en España líder en telefonía internacional. Nuestra propuesta es de llamadas económicas que permite a las personas estar en contacto con su familia en el extranjero. Eso no ha cambiado con la crisis, sino al contrario, buscamos formas más económicas de hacer que nuestros clientes estén en contacto con los suyos. Hemos seguido con las campañas sobre nuestros servicios y los productos que nos ha permitido estar presentes.

low cost

T_ ¿Qué los diferencia del resto de operadores móviles?

we

OV_ Apostamos por tarifas transparentes y sencillas. No ofrecemos productos complicados. El cliente sabe cuanto le cuesta llamar, con IVA (Impuesto de Valor Añadido) incluido, a su país desde el móvil. Esto es difícil de determinar para las personas, porque todas las compañías dan sus precios sin IVA.

IVA

competencia

T_ Entonces, ¿la oferta de la empresa no varía?

OV_ Siempre estamos pensando qué podemos hacer por nuestros usuarios, un ejemplo de esto es la promoción que está ahora funcionando, Lebara te lleva a casa, que premia con un billetes de avión al país de origen a quien use nuestro servicio, sin importar la nacionalidad de la persona. *www.lebaratellevaacasa.com*

↓ democrático equitativo

crisis - supportive

L.22. "apostamos" → conlleva riesgo

adjective: economic (16) transparent (22) simple (22) complicated

family (16) nuestros (18,27) possessives

[1] http://www.toumai.es/noticias/emprendedores/217/4412-oscar-verges-director-de-lebara-espana

no paternalista. "customer" active: knows (23)

d) Report ✓

Number of Document	L9
Enunciator	Lebara
Genre	Press release
Source	www.lebara.es
Date	11/2010

NOTA DE PRENSA

La Comisión Nacional de las Comunicaciones certifica a Lebara Móvil entre los principales operadores móviles

La noticia se ha dado a conocer por medio de una resolución emitida por dicha comisión el pasado 21 de octubre

Madrid, 11 de noviembre de 2010.- Lebara Móvil, operador móvil dedicado al público inmigrante, ha sido incluido por la Comisión del Mercado de las Telecomunicaciones (CMT) en la lista de los cinco principales operadores móviles de España por cuota de mercado. Desde su lanzamiento en enero de 2007, la compañía ha experimentado un crecimiento sostenido y exponencial que le ha permitido ingresar por primera vez el pasado 21 de octubre en el ranking de las empresas más importantes de telefonía móvil del país, junto a Movistar, Vodafone, Orange y Yoigo. Su Director General, Óscar Vergés, ha expresado su satisfacción ante dicho reconocimiento y en sus propias palabras comenta "*Lebara Móvil tiene clara su vocación de servicio a los extranjeros residentes en cada país donde opera. Este enfoque nos ha permitido desarrollar relaciones duraderas y de confianza con nuestros clientes, que ven en Lebara un socio estable. Nuestro crecimiento es la consecuencia de esa vocación y un motivo de orgullo para todos los que formamos la familia Lebara*". Durante sus casi cuatro años de vida en España, la compañía se ha esforzado en proporcionar a sus clientes un servicio adaptado a la medida de sus necesidades. La misión de Lebara Móvil se basa en ofrecer llamadas internacionales económicas y de alta calidad directamente desde el móvil, de forma cómoda y sencilla. El propósito es cubrir las necesidades de los clientes en materia de comunicación para que puedan sentirse más cerca de sus familias y amigos en el extranjero. **Sobre Lebara Móvil** Lebara Móvil es un operador móvil virtual que se sirve de las redes de operadores móviles incumbentes para funcionar. Desde sus inicios, sus servicios han estado enfocados al segmento de público inmigrante mediante tarjetas de prepago y tarifas para llamadas internacionales de bajo coste. La filial Lebara Móvil España se inaugura en enero de 2007, con la intención de acercar al público inmigrante de nuestro país la posibilidad de realizar llamadas internacionales y nacionales a coste reducido directamente desde el móvil. Las tarjetas SIM y recargas están disponibles en más de 150.000 puntos de venta a nivel nacional. **Sobre el Grupo Lebara** El Grupo Lebara fue fundado en 2001 para ofrecer soluciones de telecomunicaciones innovadoras y a medida para que las familias, amigos y compañeros de trabajo puedan mantenerse en contacto, tanto en el hogar como en el extranjero. Lebara lanzó la primera compañía de servicios móviles internacionales de bajo coste en los Países Bajos en 2004. A principios de 2010 alcanzó más de 2,5 millones de clientes en: los Países Bajos, Dinamarca, España, Suiza, Reino Unido, Australia, Alemania y Francia. **Más información: Lebara Móvil España Gisela Ball 91 276 91 21**

gisela.ball@lebara-movil.es

legitimated

individualization nomination functionalization

competence / association

verbal process

business relationship

report speech

low cost

tailored

pro-immigrant

customers - categorization (van L. 52)
their customers - relational identification (van L. 56)

Number of Document	L5 (nueva numeración línea)
Enunciator	Lebara
Genre	MS and CSR
Source	http://www.lebara.com/about_lebara_mobile.html http://www.lebara.com/brand_values.html
Date	11/12/10

Welcome to the Lebara Group

The Lebara Group was **founded in 2001** to offer tailored innovative telecommunications solutions so that families, friends and colleagues can keep in touch, both at home & abroad.

Lebara continues to go from strength to strength – and has been recognized by a number of awards and rankings for our achievements, these include:

In December 2009, Lebara was ranked as the Best Overall Enterprise at the Asian Achievers Awards in London.

Lebara Mobile in the UK was the Winner of the 2009 Most Innovative Service presented by the Mobile News Awards

In 2009 Lebara Mobile in Switzerland was awarded Most Recommended Mobile Provider status by Comparis.ch

The judges in the 2008 Mobile Awards voted Lebara Mobile "Best Newcomer" to the UK market

In 2008 Real Business Magazine placed Lebara in their Hot 100 listing for the second year running

In 2007 Real Business Magazine placed Lebara in both its Hot 100 and Top 50 to Watch in Mobile listings

The 'Fast Track 100 listing', produced by the Sunday Times in 2006, ranked Lebara as the fourth fastest-growing private company in Great Britain

Lebara Mobile launched the first ever low-cost international mobile service in the Netherlands in 2004. By the start of 2010 we had over **2.5 million customers** in: the Netherlands, Denmark, Spain, Switzerland, the UK, Australia and Germany.

Lebara Mobile provides pre-paid **Mobile SIM cards** customised to the needs of **international** communities, particularly migrant workers. We believe that Lebara Mobile services always give our customers:

Very low rates

Instant connections

High quality networks

Multilingual customer services

Reliable service

No access codes

No hidden charges

No lost minutes

Lebara Mobile always works with **best of breed** partners to ensure the widest SIM card product and airtime availability in each country:

Lebara Mobile's brand communications strategy is focused around **engaging directly with customers** through street sales & marketing campaigns, promotional events, PR & targeted advertising.

Lebara Mobile places great emphasis on communicating with customers on their terms, giving them online support and tailored customer services in a **wide range of languages.**

Our Brand Values

Number of Document	L6
Enunciator	Lebara
Genre	Press release
Source	http://www.lebara.com/media/press-releases
Date	11/11/11

11/12/10

The Lebara Foundation

INSPIRING CHANGE...

Lebara believes in giving something back and devising ways in which business can make a difference. The Lebara Foundation idea was hatched in 2005 by a group of trustees, to provide housing and schooling for displaced children.

We are the non-profit, philanthropic arm of the LEBARA Group, which contributes a portion of its profits to the Foundation. The Lebara Foundation is committed to delivering services that will make a difference to the lives of vulnerable children. Read more

Our Mission

Our mission is to have a sustainable impact on the quality of life of vulnerable children by assisting them to increase access to shelter/housing, food and clean water. We aspire to be a leader in the fight against child poverty. We invest money where it is required most and where it will create lasting change for vulnerable communities. We are committed to the UN Child Rights Convention and Millennium Development Goals.

We promote

- Access to shelter, housing and clean water for children in need
- Placing children and their carers at the centre in order to find innovative and effective solutions to the challenges they face through delivering quick and sustainable solutions.
- Equal rights and dignity for all
- Non-discriminatory practice
- Transparency and accountability.

The Lebara Group

Lebara Group was founded in 2001 and three years later, in 2004, Lebara Mobile started offering international calls services in the Netherlands. As a mobile virtual network operator (MVNO[1]) it extended across other countries such as Denmark, Spain, Switzerland, the UK, Germany and Australia. It entered the Spanish market in 2007 and uses Vodafone's radio spectrum. The corporation estimates that in 2010 it has over **2.5 million customers in all, and defines itself as providers of** "pre-paid **Mobile SIM cards** customised to the needs of **international** communities, particularly migrant workers" (Lebara website).

[1] The MVNO lack of a licensed frequency allocation of the radio spectrum so they depend on a commercial agreement with the Mobile Network Operators (MNO) that own radio spectrum to use one part f it.

Number of Document	L7
Enunciator	Lebara
Genre	Press release
Source	http://www.lebara.com/media/press-releases
Date	19/01/11

NOTA DE PRENSA

Llama gratis a cualquier país con el Lebara Móvil Tour

Lebara Móvil, consciente de que la crisis está afectando de manera más virulenta al colectivo inmigrante, pone en marcha esta iniciativa para ofrecer llamadas gratis a su país de origen a todo el que lo desee

- **El Lebara Tour arranca en Madrid y recorrerá la geografía Española**
- **Lebara Móvil ofrece al público realizar una llamada gratis de 3 minutos a su país de origen**
- **Lebara Móvil es el operador móvil virtual líder en España por cuota de mercado según la CMT**

Madrid, 19 de enero de 2011. Lebara Móvil, operador móvil virtual orientado a ofrecer servicios de telefonía móvil de alta calidad, sencillos de usar y a precios muy competitivos al colectivo inmigrante de nuestro país, presenta a los medios el **Lebara Tour**. La convocatoria tendrá lugar el próximo día 26 de Enero en la salida de RENFE-Aluche a las 10:30 de la mañana. La unidad móvil está formada por una autocaravana, que junto con un equipo de Lebara Móvil va a recorrer la geografía española, ofreciendo a todo el que se acerque realizar una llamada de 3 minutos gratis a su país de origen. Esta unidad móvil tiene las puertas abiertas desde el 12 de Enero hasta mediados de Abril en horario al público de mañana y de tarde, cinco días a la semana y va a estar visitando diferentes ciudades de la geografía española.

Lebara Tour

El público que acude diariamente está siendo atendido por los profesionales de Lebara Móvil que ofrecen la oportunidad a todos aquellos que lo deseen a realizar una llamada de varios minutos en el interior del vehículo. Esta unidad móvil está creada para esta promoción en concreto y cuenta con amplias cristaleras y decoración exterior totalmente personalizada. En el interior se ha recreado una sala de estar, para hacer lo más cómodo posible el entrañable momento de la llamada de los asistentes a sus seres queridos. El emplazamiento elegido para la presentación a medios del **Lebara Tour** es **Aluche**, barrio multicultural por excelencia de Madrid. Inmigrantes de las numerosas nacionalidades que conviven en esta cosmopolita zona de la capital podrán hacer llamadas internacionales a sus familiares y amigos.

El **Lebara Tour** recorrerá numerosas ciudades de la geografía española en su recorrido, visitando diferentes localidades de Madrid, Andalucía, Levante, Cataluña,... todas ellas de mayoría étnica. En Madrid está visitando Alcorcón, Móstoles, Fuenlabrada, Villaverde Bajo, Usera y Aluche, entre otras. Además visitará Sevilla, Málaga, Almería, Murcia, Valencia y localidades de Cataluña, como Sabadell, Terrasa y Hospitalet, entre otras.

Sobre Lebara Móvil

Lebara Móvil como operador móvil virtual se sirve de las redes de operadores móviles tradicionales para ofrecer su servicio. Desde el inicio, enfoca su servicio al público inmigrante ofreciendo tarjetas de prepago y tarifas para llamadas internacionales de bajo coste desde el móvil. La filial Lebara Móvil España se inaugura en enero de 2007 con la filosofía de servicio al inmigrante, acercándole a su familia y sus seres queridos con tarifas muy competitivas, tantos internacionales y nacionales desde el móvil. Las tarjetas SIM Lebara y recargas están disponibles en más de 150.000 puntos de venta a nivel nacional. Lebara Móvil está incluido desde noviembre de 2010 en la lista de los cinco principales operadores móviles de España por cuota de mercado por la Comisión del Mercado de las Telecomunicaciones (CMT).

Sobre el Grupo Lebara

El Grupo Lebara fue fundado en 2001 para ofrecer soluciones de telecomunicaciones a bajo coste, innovadoras y a medida para que las familias, amigos y compañeros de trabajo puedan mantenerse en contacto, tanto en el hogar como en el extranjero. Lebara lanzó la primera compañía de servicios móviles internacionales de bajo coste en los Países Bajos en 2004. Hoy en día ya ha alcanzado los 3 millones de clientes en: los Países Bajos, Dinamarca, España, Suiza, Reino Unido, Australia, Alemania y Francia.

Number of Document	W LG
Enunciator	Lebara
Genre	Press release
Source	http://www.lebara.com/media/press-releases
Date	28/07/11

estimular ventas online

NOTA DE PRENSA

Lebara Móvil lanza, a través de su Web, la venta de Sims gratuitas

- **Es un producto pionero en España**
- **Tarjeta Sim prepago gratuita** que será enviada directamente a la dirección del cliente final.
- **Llamadas desde 1 céntimo/minuto** a destinos internacionales y nacionales a 9cnt/min
- **El bajo coste y alta calidad de servicio** son las máximas de la compañía.

Madrid, 28 de julio de 2011. Lebara Móvil, compañía líder en el sector de las telecomunicaciones, y pionera en el servicio a las comunidades migrantes en España, vuelve a adelantarse a las tendencias del sector y saca, por medio de su página web, un nuevo producto con el que llegar a todos los inmigrantes residentes en nuestro país. La Operadora Móvil Virtual, acompaña esta oferta de Sim gratuita, con otra complementaria de hasta 10€ de saldo extra, en todas aquellas recargas realizadas por medio de la plataforma de la página web de Lebara www.lebara.es con la que se trata de dar un valor añadido a todos los clientes de la compañía.

implies universal access

Compra de SIMS

Desde la página web existe la opción de comprar 3 diferentes categorías del producto ofertado por Lebara: Sims de 0€, con 5€ o con 10€ de saldo, además de la anteriormente citada opción de recarga online. El cliente final puede seleccionar en la web el producto que quiere, y rellenar un sencillo formulario con los datos de envío. Para poder recibir la SIM, se presentará el documento de identidad (DNI, NIE, Pasaporte) al cartero que realiza la entrega y, cumplir, de esta manera, con la Ley de Registro que rige el mercado español.

Con la oferta de recarga online se complementa esta oferta incrementando el valor del producto para los clientes de la compañía quienes, desde hace unos días, también cuentan con la opción de conexión a internet desde sus terminales móviles.

6, 17, 21, 27, 47

3, 10, 16, 20, 28, 30, 33, 37

9, 10, 17, 27, 45

Sobre Lebara Móvil

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amigos y compañeros de trabajo puedan mantenerse en contacto, tanto en el hogar como en el extranjero.
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3 millones de clientes en: los Países Bajos, Dinamarca, España, Suiza, Reino Unido, Australia, Alemania y Francia.

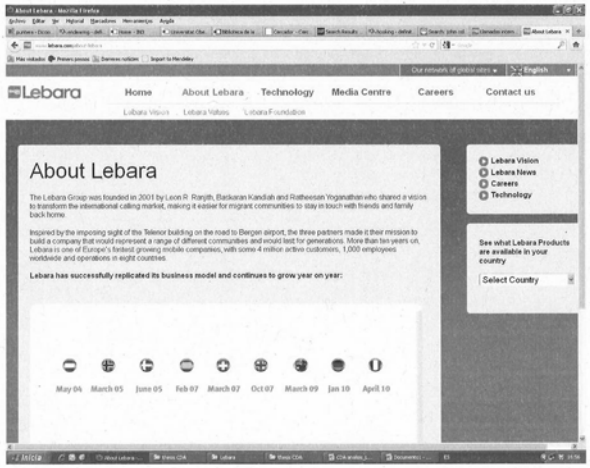
Number of Document	LM0 L9
Enunciator	Lebara
Genre	Mission Statement
Source	http://www.lebara.com/about-lebara http://www.lebara.com/lebara-vision
Date	09/11

About Lebara

The Lebara Group was founded in 2001 by Leon R. Ranjith, Baskaran Kandiah and Ratheesan Yoganathan who shared a vision to transform the international calling market, making it easier for migrant communities to stay in touch with friends and family back home.

Inspired by the imposing sight of the Telenor building on the road to Bergen airport, the three partners made it their mission to build a company that would represent a range of different communities and would last for generations. More than ten years on, Lebara is one of Europe's fastest growing mobile companies, with some 4 million active customers, 1,000 employees worldwide and operations in eight countries.

Lebara has successfully replicated its business model and continues to grow year on year:



Message from the founders, September 2011

"It is officially 10 years since we took our first footsteps into the world of business together with a clear conviction to build a brand which embodied all our values, hopes and ambitions.

2011 marks a significant milestone in our history for a number of reasons. In the same year that the company celebrates its 10th anniversary, we have achieved exceptional growth and are now looking at new opportunities for our business. While we reflect on where we have come over the past decade, it is more important than ever to look to the future and the next ten years.

Our ambition is to become the brand of choice for 1 billion people by 2020. Our vision is to continue to enhance the lives of migrant communities all over the world by providing them with the products and services they need, coupled with the excellent customer service that Lebara is renowned for delivering.

Every new product and service we develop, every new market we enter, every new colleague we employ, we will do with the aim of building a brand that lasts for generations and continues to improve the lives of our customers."

numeración OK

Number of Doc.	W 1
Enunciator	Western Union
Genre	Home page, About us,
Source	http://corporate.westernunion.com
Date	n/d
Comments	Each headline opens up in a different window which short texts I collected all together in this document.

W1

MS our values

connecting families around the world

customers (hail)

Western Union helps you provide for your loved ones almost anywhere in the world. spatial

Whether it's for education, healthcare or groceries, we offer Consumer-to-Consumer Money-Transfer Services to get resources to members of your family quickly. adverb

We're working harder than ever to help people move money quickly, reliably and more efficiently across borders and around the globe. comparative

At Western Union, we are proud to support migrants in their journey toward greater economic opportunity.

about us

With a 160-year history of connecting people when it matters most, Western Union continues to shape the world in which we live.

Western Union offers one of the easiest ways for families and friends to send money and stay connected almost anywhere in the world. It all comes down to the relationships we've established over many years. We take pride in being close to our consumers. Together with our Agents, we speak our consumers' languages and live in our consumers' neighborhoods. And we share our consumers' cultures. We are a significant part of each other's lives.

As a result, our Agents and employees are more like ambassadors. They are ambassadors of trust. Ambassadors of responsibility. And ambassadors of hope. They are the living, breathing manifestation of who we are as a company and everything we stand for:

Integrity. Partnership. Opportunity. Passion. Teamwork.

our values

our consumers - 15, 16, 17, 26, 35, 40, 48

32

extreme case formulation

We do business each day with absolute integrity, honesty and passion, partnering as a team to meet our consumers' needs.

The values that matter most to our employees shape the core values of Western Union. They are a part of the fabric of our day-to-day work experience and demonstrate behaviors that foster a positive, inclusive and engaging company culture.

Our values define who we are and what we stand for as a company. Living these values is at the heart of all that we do, and is demonstrated every day in our interactions with consumers, colleagues and the global community.

integrity

We do business each day with an absolute commitment to ethics, honesty and credibility. Our employees and Agents foster trust, so our consumers are confident their transactions are fast and reliable.

partnership

Our partnerships with employees, Agents and organizations that support our business are critical to our success. These partnerships enable us to better understand our consumers in order to deliver services that meet or exceed their needs and our shareholders' expectations.

opportunity

We develop our people through new opportunities and challenges; we recognize and reward high performers; we embrace diversity and varied perspectives; and we respect the commitment our people make to our business, their families and society.

passion

We are passionate about our business, doing the right thing for our people and proud to enable our consumers to achieve their dreams. We lead by example in giving back to the communities we serve and improving our world.

teamwork

We are one team, working together for one world. We have a dynamic and inclusive work environment where our people share the desire to win.

numeración OK.

Number of Doc.	W 2
Enunciator	**Western Union**
Genre	**History, Services** MS
Source	http://corporate.westernunion.com
Date retrieved	20/07/12
Comments	Each headline opens up in a different window which short texts I collected all together in this document.

history http://corporate.westernunion.com/history.html

For more than 160 years, the familiar signs of Western Union have stood as a trusted symbol for connecting friends, family and businesses around the world.
Known today as an innovator in financial services, The Western Union Company has become an industry leader in global money transfer with approximately 500,000 Agent locations in 200 countries and territories. From the roots of our signature telegram business, we expanded and evolved our services in 1871 to offer electronic money transfer. Today, Western Union offers money order, money transfer, payment and prepaid services. While the telegram is a memory, we continue a long history of connecting people around the corner and around the globe with financial services that are fast, reliable and convenient.

Services http://corporate.westernunion.com/services.html

Western Union does so much more than simply send money. Every day we help people connect with loved ones around the world by offering a fast, reliable and convenient means of transferring money.
Under its Western Union, Orlandi Valuta and Vigo brands, The Western Union Company provides consumers fast, reliable and convenient ways to send and receive money around the world, as well as send payments and purchase money orders. We operate through a network of approximately 500,000 Agent locations in 200 countries and territories.

Consumer-to-consumer

Connect with loved ones throughout the world by sending your support through Western Union

Consumer-to-business

Simplify your everyday life by sending utilities, car loans and mortage payments through Western Union.

Business-to-business.

Custom House allows you to make international payments, receive foreign currency and protect your business with currency risk management services.

Other services

Enhance your financial management with money orders, prepaid cards, and other financial services from Western Union.

Number of Doc.	3
Enunciator	Western Union
Genre	Web site info CSR
Source	http://corporate.westernunion.com/corporate_responsibility.html
Date	n/d

corporate citizenship

Western Union global corporate citizenship is our commitment to enrich the lives of global citizens by expanding economic opportunity. Through initiatives like the Western Union Our World, Our Family program, we are able to put our values into action.

Our corporate citizenship efforts focus on three primary areas:

- Supporting Cultural Inclusion: We recognize the importance of helping individuals and families build strong communities, in which all members can contribute their distinctive talents and feel at home
- Creating Pathways to Opportunity: We help diverse individuals and communities around the world realize their tremendous potential with scholarships supporting financial literacy, entrepreneurship, job training, and other skills necessary on the journey to a better life
- Fostering Hope in the Developing World: We support economic development and opportunities with infrastructure development, community centers and access to technology

Together with our Foundation and our Agents, we strive to leverage our global reach, knowledge and leadership in diverse communities. This allows us to serve as a resource, advocate and trusted partner with our consumers, grassroots and community organizations, development agencies, and policy makers. We have a rich and consistent history of giving back in the communities where we live and work:

- We have a passion for doing the right things for our people, consumers, and society
- We provide value through the jobs we create and the programs we support
- Our citizenship efforts help to amplify the impact of remittances, a powerful force for social good
- Our employees contribute their time, talents and resources to benefit local communities worldwide
- Last year, we gave millions to support disaster relief, education, and human services
- Our impact echoes across oceans, countries and cultures to enrich our global community

Today, Western Union continues to support a number of programs through the Western Union Foundation and through partnerships with leading governmental and non-governmental organizations. Since 2001, the Western Union Foundation, in collaboration with Western Union Agents and employees, has granted more than $40 million USD to more than 1,500 non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in 70 countries around the globe to support humanitarian projects. In addition, the Foundation has supported more than 50 disaster-relief operations and has funded education and human services programs.

Most recently, Western Union introduced the Western Union Our World, Our Family program. This $50 million, five-year commitment continues Western Union's historical giving program to create global economic opportunities which will help aspiring individuals and their families stay connected, overcome barriers, and realize their dreams. The funding is expected to consist of direct contribution and investment to support The Western Union Our World, Our Family program together with contributions to the Western Union Foundation and other company-supported initiatives.

Comm. 8,12,20,23,30
Individuals: 9,11,47

Help 8,11,27,46

(mala numeración)

Number of Doc.	(4)
Enunciator	**Western Union** Foundation
Genre	Web site info csr.
Source	http://corporate.westernunion.com/news_media_corporate_social.html
Date	n/d

corporate social responsibility fact sheet

For more than 150 years, consumers have trusted Western Union to connect with friends and loved ones across the globe. This rich heritage has provided a strong foundation for building one of the largest money-transfer networks in the world.

Central to Western Union's philosophy is to support the communities in which our employees and consumers live and work. It is one of the foundations of our business, and something we are proud to say that we do every day.

The Western Union Foundation began in 2000 as a philanthropic organization to facilitate charitable giving programs worldwide. Through the generous donations of The Western Union Company, our employees, Agents and others, the Foundation helps to fund programs that enhance the quality of life for those most in need around the world.

key facts

Since 2001, the Western Union Foundation has:

- Granted nearly $40 million to nonprofit organizations worldwide in more than 70 countries and territories to support humanitarian projects, provide disaster relief and to fund education, health and human services programs.
- Supported 500 non-traditional students worldwide with scholarships totaling nearly $895,000;
- Supported more than 50 disaster-relief operations around the world;
- Joined more than 150 Western Union Agents in charitable programs.

recent projects

- The Clinton Global Initiative recently recognized Western Union's *"Our World, Our Family®"* program, a five-year, $50 million effort to promote greater economic opportunity.
- In Costa Rica, The Western Union Foundation donated $25,000 to Fundacion Alimentando Esperanzas, a nonprofit organization in San Jose, Costa Rica, offering education and family support services to children and their families.
- In Haiti, The Western Union Foundation gave US$25,000 to CARE to assist disaster-relief efforts in the aftermath of several storms.

key partnerships

The Western Union Company also serves as a credible and reliable resource, advocate and trusted partner of multiple grassroots and community organizations across the globe, including:

- The Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF)
- The Federation of Zacatecano Clubs of Southern California
- The Coalition for Asian American Children and Families
- Jobs for America's Graduates
- El Rescate
- The National Immigration Forum
- The Latin American Association
- The Polish American Association

Number of Doc.	5
Enunciator	Western Union
Genre	Press release
Source	http://ir.westernunion.com/default.aspx?SectionId=5cc5ecae-6c48-4521-a1ad-480e593e4835&LanguageId=1&PressReleaseId=05ef75db-3d6b-431a-b3ac-acf3b32a8be
Date	29/01/2008
Comments	

SMART Communications and Western Union to Deliver Mobile Remittances in the Philippines

Tuesday, January 29, 2008 10:00 AM

SMART Money Services the Philippines' Leading Mobile Financial Services Platform for Banked Customers

ENGLEWOOD, Colo. & MANILA, Philippines, Jan 29, 2008 (BUSINESS WIRE) -- The Western Union Company (NYSE: WU) announced today that it has joined forces with Smart Communications, Inc. (SMART), a leading wireless services provider in the Philippines, to jointly develop and pilot a Mobile Money Transfer service.

The service, which is being developed as part of the GSM Association's Mobile Money Transfer strategic initiative, aims to make low-principal, high-frequency remittances available to the country's more than 8 million Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs).(1)

SMART, which ended 2007 with more than 30 million subscribers, already has an established mobile financial service platform linking local bank accounts to mobile handsets, providing significant convenience for banked consumers. At the end of 2007, more than 7 million SMART subscribers were in the Smart Money system, close to 2 million of whom are cardholders. The company has agreements with five Philippine commercial banks and links to over 7,000 ATMs nationwide, more than 100 Smart Wireless Centers and thousands of third-party Smart Money fulfillment partners.

"This agreement is in line with SMART's thrust to continuously develop convenient mobile remittance channels and communications services for overseas Filipino workers," said Napoleon Nazareno, SMART president and CEO. "We recognize the significant role they play in not only contributing to the country's economy, but also in making sure their families' financial and communications needs are met at the time they need them."

Western Union, together with its affiliates Orlandi Valuta and Vigo, maintains the industry's largest global money transfer Agent network with more than 320,000 locations in over 200 countries and territories.

"More than 44 percent of households in the Philippines have a relative or family member working abroad,(2) and the mobile phone plays a tremendous role in keeping families connected," said Matt Dill, General Manager, Western Union Mobile. "We believe there is a real opportunity to extend the reach of Western Union's brand and service proposition to a new and more mobile consumer base."

The number of immigrants globally is about 200 million - approximately 3 percent of the world's population.(2) According to recent World Bank data, the Philippines is the fourth-largest receiver of remittances in the world and received an estimated $17 billion USD in 2007.

Once the Western Union(R) mobile money transfer pilot has launched, the service will connect operators to Western Union's existing global money transfer system. Once connected to the Western Union service, operators will be able to use their own "mobile wallet" software to enable person-to-person mobile money transfers over Western Union's cross-border remittance network. The Mobile Money Transfer service will enable consumers to transfer money to or from mobile wallets and will offer a global network of Western Union Agent locations for cash-to-mobile and mobile-to-cash transactions.

Mobile networks now cover more than 80 percent of the world's population, and 3 billion people have a mobile phone,(3) creating an opportunity to extend the benefits of financial services to many of the world's families for the first time.

The agreement with SMART is part of the pilot program of Western Union and the GSM Association, a global trade association representing over 700 GSM mobile phone operators, to facilitate the development of cross-border mobile money transfer services.

About The Western Union Company

The Western Union Company (NYSE: WU) is a leader in global money-transfer services. Together with its affiliates, Orlandi Valuta and Vigo, Western Union provides consumers with fast, reliable and convenient ways to send and receive money around the world, as well as send payments and purchase money orders. It operates through a network of more than 320,000 Agent locations in over 200 countries and territories. Famous for its pioneering telegraph services, the original Western Union dates back to 1851. For more information, visit www.westernunion.com.

About Smart Communications

Smart Communications, Inc. is the Philippines' leading wireless services provider with over 30 million subscribers on its GSM network as of December 2007. Of its total subscriber base, over 20 million subscribers are served under the brands Smart Buddy, Smart Gold and Smart Infinity. In addition, over 9 million subscribers are served through its subsidiary, Pilipino Telephone Corp., under the brand Talk 'N Text. SMART has built a reputation for innovation, having introduced world-first wireless data services, including mobile commerce services such as Smart Money, Smart Load and Smart Padala. SMART also offers a 3G service, Smart 3G. SMART's subsidiary, Smart Broadband, Inc. offers the revolutionary high-speed wireless broadband Internet service, Smart Bro. SMART is a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Philippines' leading telecommunications carrier, the Philippine Long Distance Telephone Company. For more information, visitwww.smart.com.ph.

For more information about the GSMA's MMT programme, please see www.gsmworld.com/mmt.

(1) Source: Data from December 2004 estimates prepared by the Commission on Filipinos Overseas from CFO, DFA, POEA and other sources covering 194 countries/territories.

(2) Source: World Bank

(3) Source: GSMA

WU-G

SOURCE: The Western Union Company

Number of Doc.	
Enunciator	Western Union
Genre	Press release
Source	http://ir.westernunion.com/files/doc_news/Release7bdbf6d4-7f98-4f60-a51b-88f34b814fee_1429748.pdf
Date	27/01/2009
Comments	

Western Union Foundation Awards First Scholarships under the Family Scholarship Program Pilot

January 27, 2009 10:19 PM ET

ENGLEWOOD, Colo., Jan 27, 2009 (BUSINESS WIRE) -- The Western Union Foundation today announced the first award recipients of the Family Scholarship Pilot Program for migrant workers and their families. The pilot phase of the program was focused on awarding scholarships to families within the Guatemalan and Filipino diaspora in the Los Angeles, California, area and is now expanding to include the Mexican diaspora as well.

Filipina immigrant sisters, Carla Mae and Carmela Mae Ubalde, both received scholarships to help continue their college education at California State University in Northridge. Carla is studying to be a nurse, while Carmela is majoring in computer science. Both girls volunteer in their local community, in addition to attending school and working at various jobs to help pay tuition and other educational expenses. "We are so grateful to the Western Union Foundation for caring about young people. You've helped us make our family proud," said Carla Mae and Carmela enthusiastically. "These scholarships will help make both of our lives a little easier and we truly appreciate your gift."

"We are pleased to be able to award our first family scholarships to these hard-working, young women from the Filipino community," said Luella Chavez D'Angelo, president, Western Union Foundation. "Education is a universal need and has the ability to create opportunity and improve lives. This family scholarship will help improve the lives of these two sisters, lessening their financial burden and providing them with the opportunity to achieve their educational goals."

The Family Scholarship Program is a component of Western Union's Our World, Our FamilySMsignature program, a five year, $50 million commitment designed to provide communities with the skills, knowledge and resources essential to breaking the cycle of poverty. The program is framed around four areas: Our World Gives; Our World Learns; Our World Strives and Our World Speaks, with each area given equal attention towards helping families stay connected, overcome barriers and realize their dreams.

The Western Union Foundation Family Scholarship Program is independently managed by the Institute of International Education (IIE), an international non-profit educational exchange organization. Scholarship applicants can determine eligibility and initiate an online application through the Western Union Foundation website at foundation.westernunion.com.

About the Western Union Foundation

Through the donations of The Western Union Company, its employees and Agents, the Western Union Foundation helps to fund programs that create economic opportunity around the world. Embracing the truly global nature of its corporate sponsor, the Western Union Foundation has granted over $52 million to more than 1,750 nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in 75 countries. Its signature giving program, Western Union's Our World, Our FamilySM, is a $50 million, five-year commitment reaching people at every rung of the economic ladder. Through Our World, Our Family, the Western Union Foundation is helping migrants and their families stay connected, overcome barriers and realize their dreams.

About Western Union

The Western Union Company (NYSE:WU) is a leader in global money transfer services. Together with its Vigo and Orlandi Valuta branded money transfer services, Western Union provides consumers with fast, reliable and convenient ways to send and receive money around the world, as well as send payments and purchase money orders. It operates through a combined network of more than 365,000 Agent locations in over 200 countries and territories. Famous for its pioneering telegraph services, the original Western Union dates back to 1851. For more information, visit www.WesternUnion.com.

The Institute of International Education

The Institute of International Education (IIE) is a global non-profit founded in 1919, committed to fostering a world of international cooperation. Among the world's largest and most experienced international education and training organizations, IIE administers 250 programs worldwide. In Denver, IIE administers the Denver World Affairs Council, The Fulbright Program, the International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP), and Global Literacy - a schools outreach program. The overarching goal of each of these programs is to facilitate the opportunities and climate for meaningful, educational interactions between people of different cultural and ethnic backgrounds that will lead to peace and prosperity around the world.

WU-G

WU-P

SOURCE: The Western Union Foundation

The Western Union Foundation

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CSR

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Date	08/07/2009
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The Western Union Foundation Accelerates Efforts to Promote Economic Opportunity

Wednesday, July 8, 2009 10:00 AM

More Than $1.9 Million in Worldwide Grants Awarded in Second Quarter 2009

ENGLEWOOD, Colo., Jul 08, 2009 (BUSINESS WIRE) -- The Western Union Foundation today announced that it has awarded more than US$1.9 million in grants under Western Union's *Our World, Our Family*(R) signature program.

Grants to non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in 19 countries include funding to promote microfinance in North India, to assist Vietnamese migrants in Taiwan through language acquisition classes, and to provide business guidance to owners of small farms in Bangladesh.

The Western Union Foundation collaborates with Western Union Agents on philanthropic giving through the Agent Giving Circles program. Western Union Agents are the face and voice of Western Union in the communities they serve and are well-placed to understand the needs of local consumers. Agent donations this quarter amounted to nearly US$600,000 and were matched dollar-for-dollar by the Foundation. Examples of the efforts these donations will fund include vocational programs for adolescents in Colombia, educational opportunities for ethnic minority students in the United States and the integration of immigrants in Belgium.

"Our Western Union Agent Giving Circles demonstrate the value of encouraging global philanthropy by combining resources to magnify the educational and economic development impact on communities around the world," says Luella Chavez D'Angelo, president, Western Union Foundation.

In addition, Mercy Corps continues to be a major *Our World, Our Family*(R) NGO partner, and is focused on providing financial education, supporting migrant needs and developing entrepreneurs in six countries: China, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Mexico and the United States.

The Western Union Foundation's Family Scholarship program is a new initiative for migrants, immigrants and their families and is intended to help two members of the same family move up the economic ladder through education. Families in the U.S., Mexico, Jamaica, Kenya and the Philippines will benefit. Recipients include a single mother in California who will attend English classes while her daughter becomes the first in the family to attend college. Two brothers from Kenya will pursue their dreams to promote sustainable development in rural Kenya, with one brother working toward a degree in New York and the other brother attending university in Njoro, Kenya. Two Filipina sisters will also pursue university degrees, one in Korea and the other in Leyte, Philippines.

As previously announced, the Western Union Foundation, Western Union and its Agents launched the African Diaspora Marketplace with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) which will boost economic opportunity and job creation in Sub-Saharan Africa through Diaspora-driven development. For more information about the call for business proposals, visit www.diasporamarketplace.org.

About the Western Union Foundation

Through Western Union's *Our World, Our Family*(R) signature program, the Western Union Foundation supports initiatives to empower individuals, families and communities through access to better education and economic opportunity. Recognized by the Committee Encouraging Corporate Philanthropy in 2009, the program is a five year, $50 million commitment reflecting the efforts made by Western Union employees, Agents and partners around the world. Since its inception, the Western Union Foundation has awarded almost $55 million in grants and disaster relief to over 1,870 nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in 100 countries. For more information, visit http://foundation.westernunion.com.

About Western Union

The Western Union Company (NYSE: WU) is a leader in global payment services. Together with its Vigo, Orlandi Valuta and Pago Facil branded payment services, Western Union provides consumers with fast, reliable and convenient ways to send and receive money around the world, as well as send payments and purchase money orders. Western Union, Vigo and Orlandi Valuta operate through a combined network of more than 379,000 Agent locations in 200 countries and territories. Famous for its pioneering telegraph services, the original Western Union dates back to 1851. For more information, visit www.westernunion.com.

WU-G

WU-P

SOURCE: The Western Union Company

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Enunciator	Western Union
Genre	Press release
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Date	21/12/2009
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HIRING OF FOREIGN WORKERS GETS BUSINESS VOTE OF CONFIDENCE

Companies Want Access to Specialized Skills to Compete as Economic Growth Resumes

ENGLEWOOD, Co., December 21, 2009 – Despite reports of growing protectionist and nationalistic sentiment prompted by the global recession, world business leaders believe that migration continues to be good for business and the economy, according to a survey conducted by the Economist Intelligence Unit on behalf of Western Union. More than three in four corporate leaders, or 76 percent, say that foreign workers have a positive impact on the economy and nearly as many (71 percent) agree that foreign workers provide competitive advantages. Further, more than half, or 57 percent, say that the recession has not prompted changes to the hiring practices of foreign workers. Survey respondents included 501 global business leaders, of which 43 percent were C-level executives.

"While economic insecurity is putting politicians under pressure to protect jobs for locals, it is clear that business leaders still see an open economy with economic migration as essential to drive the recovery," said Hikmet Ersek, Western Union chief operating officer-designate.

Foreign Workers Fill Specific Staffing Needs

Contrary to perceptions that more stringent immigration regulations will safeguard jobs for local candidates and boost local economies, global business leaders overwhelmingly believe that the world's mobile workforce meets critical employment needs. Eight out of 10 executive respondents report hiring foreign workers because they have the skills to fill specific staffing needs (79%) and enhance the skills of the full workforce (81%). Seventy-one percent report that as part of the workforce, foreign workers aid the ability of companies to compete in a global market where international operators are also vying to provide those products and services.

Despite the Value, Businesses Stop Short of Protecting Their Ability to Maintain a Competitive Workforce

Nearly nine in 10 (88 percent) survey respondents indicate that there are one or more significant challenges to hiring foreign workers. In fact, more than one in four (27 percent) report current regulations make it difficult to hire a sufficient number of foreign workers; while two in five (40 percent) say it is difficult to hire foreign workers for low-skilled jobs. The limited number of quotas/visas is cited as one of the most significant challenges to employing the mobile workforce, followed by a process that is too complicated and costly.

"While businesses clearly see the benefits of an open labor market, very few of them are actually involved in advocating publicly for it," Ersek said. Worldwide, only 15 percent of executives say they have asked their government for more open immigration employment laws. According to the survey, fewer than one in 10 (eight percent) are advocating for migration processes or programs under their own company name.

"As well as enabling development at home, the 'mobile workforce' provides key skills to employers in a host country or region. Serving the world's mobile workforce is one of our company's core competencies," Ersek added.

For more information about the Western Union Global Workforce Impact Survey, visit http://corporate.westernunion.com/global_migration.html.

Methodology

A total of 501 executives participated in this online survey conducted by the Economist Intelligence Unit on behalf of Western Union in September 2009. The survey sample was senior executives: 43 percent of the respondents were C-level executives such as CEOs, CIOs and CFOs, and the balance consisted of senior vice presidents, heads of business units and other senior managers. Large organizations were represented: 57 percent have annual global sales over US$500M. A range of industries was represented, including financial services, manufacturing, information technology and professional services. Twenty-six percent of respondents were from North America, 28 percent from Asia-Pacific and 27 percent from Europe; the remainder hailed from Latin America and Middle East/Africa.

About the Western Union Company

The Western Union Company (NYSE: WU) is a leader in global payment services. Together with its Vigo, Orlandi Valuta and Pago Facil branded payment services, Western Union provides consumers with fast, reliable and convenient ways to send and receive money around the world, as well as send payments and purchase money orders. Western Union, Vigo and Orlandi Valuta operate through a combined network of more than 400,000 Agent locations in 200 countries and territories. In 2008, The Western Union Company completed 188 million consumer-to-consumer transactions worldwide, moving $74 billion of principal between consumers, and 412 million consumer-to-business transactions.

For more information, visit www.westernunion.com.

About the Economist Intelligence Unit

The Economist Intelligence Unit is the world's foremost provider of country, industry and management analysis. Founded in 1946 when a director of intelligence was appointed to serve The Economist, the Economist Intelligence Unit is now a leading research and advisory firm with more than 40 offices worldwide. For more than 60 years, the Economist Intelligence Unit has delivered vital business intelligence to influential decision-makers around the world.

CSR

Number of Doc.	4
Enunciator	Western Union
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Date	10/08/2010
Comments	

Western Union Foundation Gives $1.8 Million to Create Global Economic Opportunity

Wednesday, August 10, 2011 08:00 AM

Nearly 50 Charitable Organizations Receive Support During Quarterly Grant Cycle

ENGLEWOOD, Colo.-- The Western Union Foundation today announced a series of grants supporting nearly 50 charitable organizations in more than 20 countries and totalling $1.8 million. Many of the contributions focus on charitable organizations that address the many challenges facing the global migrant population, including access to labor markets and job training programs, language acquisition and acculturating into their new communities.

"Today, many individuals endure loneliness and exile, simply to provide food, shelter and other basic necessities for loved ones back home," said Luella Chavez D'Angelo, president of the Western Union Foundation. "The organizations we support work tirelessly to ease some of the burdens faced by these people and their families, giving them a chance to build a better life. Western Union Foundation's greater goal is to help people prosper and create economic opportunity."

Building Bridges Between Migrants and Receiving Communities

New immigrants face a number of obstacles to success. Several grants will help ease this transition.

A $100,000 grant to **Public Interest Projects** for Welcoming America will support a national grassroots effort to promote understanding and respect between recent immigrants and their U.S.-born neighbors by fostering awareness and providing integration programs.

A $15,000 grant to **Upwardly Global** will support college educated immigrants who arrive in the United States, but are challenged to find employment that matches the training and skills they learned in their home country – leaving many in these circumstances underemployed. The program provides individualized career counselling, coaching and mentoring to help these job seekers secure professional careers.

A $10,000 grant to the **Shivi Development Society**, in India, will help connect migrants, who are moving from outlying areas and Nepal to India's city centers, with vital local resources and training programs to boost language skills, promote job readiness and encourage civic engagement. Awareness programs will also work to reduce societal prejudices against migrants, and promote advocacy programs that support debate on comprehensive national migration policy.

Creating Opportunities and Choices at Home

A $10,000 grant to **Open Africa** will support a group of women who have developed tourism services and attractions along a heavily used highway in rural South Africa. The Western Union Foundation's grant will help to further build these businesses through training in marketing and business development.

In China, an $80,000 grant to the **Tsinghua University Education Foundation** will provide senior university students and graduates with training in business planning, business modelling, investment analysis, market analysis and business governance so they can establish their own businesses and create economic opportunity for themselves and others.

Information regarding these and other grants made by the Western Union Foundation is available athttp://westernunionfoundation.org.

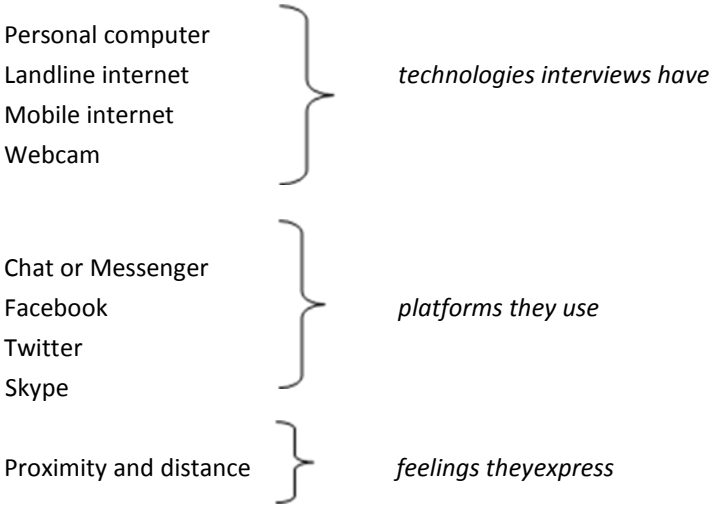
Through its brand, technology and infrastructure, Western Union offers flexible, trusted solutions to people and enterprises on the move throughout the world. The company is opening new possibilities for the underserved, for small business owners who compete abroad and for everyday consumers with financial needs and few others they can turn to.

About the Western Union Foundation

Through Western Union's Our World, Our Family® signature program, the Western Union Foundation supports initiatives to empower people through access to economic opportunity. Recognized by the Committee Encouraging Corporate Philanthropy in 2009, the program is a five-year, $50 million commitment reflecting efforts made by Western Union employees, agents and partners around the world. Since its inception, the Western Union Foundation has awarded more than $73.8 million in grants to more than 2,030 nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in 108 countries and territories. To learn more, visit westernunionfoundation.org

Appendix J. Codes used in Atlas.ti analysis of migrants' interviews.

1. Technological environment



2. Low-cost strategies of transnational family communication

Locutorio
Missed call
Only receiving calls
Mobile phone for national calls only
Multi SIM card ownership
Multi mobile device ownership
Scratch card
Special plan
Change company
Well informed customer

3. Advertising reception/reading and attitude towards companies

(companies give) Complete information
(companies give) Incomplete information
Hegemonic reading
Negotiated reading
Oppositional reading
(experiences with) Direct marketing
Receptive
Not receptive

Appendix K. Migrant interviewees' basic demographic profile.

	No.	Place of origin	Name	Age	Educ. Level	Motivation for migration	Age of arrival in Cat.	1st. Migratory experience	Contact in Spain España
ECUADOR	1	Shushufindi	Alicia	18	medium	family reunif. (FR)	2001	yes	mother
	2	Bahía de Caráquez	Ana	42	medium	work	2001	yes	siblings
	3	Guayaquil	Andrés	34	medium	work	2001	yes	friends
	4	Manabi	Gladys	23	low	study/work	2001	yes	aunt
	5	Guayaquil	Juana	39	high	work	1996	Madrid	n/d
	6	Guayaquil	Julio	20	low	FR	2007	yes	father
	7	n/d	Karen	19	high	FR	1999	yes	n/d
	8	Guayaquil	Maria	30	medium	work	Jul.2000	Madrid	no
	9	Guayaquil	Micaela	20		FR	2002	yes	mother/ father
	10	Los Rios, Vinces	Nilo	43	medium	work	2001	yes	sister
	11	Naranjal, Guayas (Ecu)	Noelia	34	medium	work	2003	yes	husband
	12	Guayaquil	Oscar	30	medium	work	Feb.2000	yes	cousin
	13	Guayaquil	Pedro	57	low	work	1999	yes	wife/cousin
	14	Guayaquil	Roberto	45	medium	FR/work	2007	yes	wife/cousin
	15	Guayaquil	Wilson	40	high	work	2001	yes	aunt
	16	Quevedo	Yolanda	38	medium	work	1998	yes	sister
MOROCCO	17	n/d	Aziza	20	medium	FR	2009	n/s	wife/cousin
	18	Tandilt	Ahmed	29	low	work	2003	Murcia	brother
	19	rural area	Ali	34	high	study/work	2008	yes	friends
	20	Castillejos, Tetuán	Fatiha	21	medium	FR	2004	yes	father
	21	Larache	Habiba	40	medium	FR	n/d	n/d	husband
	22	Kenitra	Khadija	43	low	FR	2004	yes	husband
	23	Marrakesh	Malika	25	high	FR	2011	n/d	husband
	24	Nador	Mohamed	37	low	work	2003	yes	cousins
	25	Tanger	Mustapha	39	medium	FR	2000	Almeria	wife/sister in law

No	Place of origin	Name	Age	Educ. Level	Motivation for migration	Age of arrival in Cat.	1st. Migratory experience	Contact in Spain España
26	Nador	Naima	22	low	FR	2001	n/d	father
27	Tánger	Rachida	37	high	study/work	2007	yes	sister
28	Casablanca	Said	20	medium	FR	2007	yes	father
29	n/d	Sara	30	medium	FR	2001	yes	husband
30	n/d	Youssef	45	high	study	90s	n/d	n/d

Appendix L. Migrant interviewees' short biographical notes.

Ahmed (29) is originally from Tandilt, a rural village in southern Morocco. Before arriving in Spain in 2003, he had one of his three brothers living in Catalonia. First he lived in Murcia (Andalusia), as a harvest casual worker and then he moved to Constanti (Tarragona) where he married **Naima**. They settled in Reus and had three children. In Morocco, he did two years of secondary school. Already in Spain, he took a course to learn Spanish and a training course to work in the construction sector, where he worked most of the time until he became unemployed.

Ali (32) was born in a rural area in Morocco, where all his family lived. He got a University degree and worked as a private teacher in a project he created to help students to improve their performance. "I never worked in agriculture or the construction sector", he clarified. In 2008, he migrated to Catalonia, where he had some friends. He wanted to work and continue his studies but at that time he already found difficulties to find a satisfying job. He was working as a volunteer in a Moroccan association in Reus, teaching Arab to Moroccan children. "I think I would go back to Morocco, but I need to prepare some basis (...) take a postgraduate course to get a job in Morocco. But [I can´t] go back with nothing. No.

Alicia (18) was born in Shushufindi, a city in the northern-east region of Ecuador. She came to Barcelona in September 2011 to join her mother, who reunified her family in various stages: first came Andrea's elder brother, then Anderea and her sister and finally the youngest brother. She started studying 3rd grade at a Catalan primary school and continued her studies until she finished secondary education studies. "In theory, I wanna stay here but I would like to travel to other countries: the US or Switzerland", she said.

Ana (42) was living in Bahía de Caráquez (Ecuador) with her children when her sisters and brothers migrated to Spain. "They wanted to bring me here [to Barcelona] because my daughter was sick (...) I didn't want to leave my country, but there weren´t any jobs, so I decided to come", she explained. She travelled in 2001 and had to left her children aged seven and twelve with her mother, until two years later, in 2003, she could reunify them. This period was very difficult for her: she knew they were ok but she felt sad, and the weekly telephone calls from the internet café were not enough for her. Now they were all together: "As I have always said, where my children make their way, there I will stay", she said.

Andrés (35) became a Spanish citizen two years before the interview and eight years after living in Barcelona. In 2001, he travelled from Guayaquil to Barcelona in search of better economic opportunities. Some of his friends were already in Spain and had told him about it. He left his son in Ecuador with her previous partner and he tried to visit him every year and made him regular phone calls. Now the boy was 16 years old. In Barcelona, he had two daughters aged two and four who lived with their mother. At the moment of the interview, he was happy to

have a job in a supermarket after being two years unemployed.

Aziza (20) had married a Moroccan man who lived in Reus when she was 18 and moved to Spain with him. At the moment of the interview, they had a seven-month baby. She was taking a Catalan course and would like to get a part-time job "as a receptionist in some office". In the future, however, she would like to go back in Morocco: "because here I don't have much family... it´s hard", she said. Apart from her husband, in Reus she had two cousins and an aunt with whom she sometimes talked by the phone or visited. She missed her parents and sisters in Morocco and tried to call them at least twice a month, and also her friends, who she contacted through Skype and emails.

Fatiha (21) was reunified by his father in 2004, a Moroccan sailor who moved to Spain. She arrived in Reus with her mother, **Khadija** and five sisters and brothers, when she was 14 years old. She had finished the Catalan secondary school and was planning to take a course on social integration. "I will probably return to Morocco, I can´t leave that... but I will also take the Spanish nationality... it´s important to have the same rights", she said.

Gladys (23) migrated from Manabí, her native city in Ecuador, to Barcelona with her mother in 2001, in order to meet her aunt who had come first. Then her two sisters followed. "I came to make some progress, to be better, to have my own stuff, my house (...) then I saw the situation, how my family was, so I finished the ESO[157] and went to work". At the moment of the interview, she was working as a cook assistant in a restaurant. She lived with her boyfriend, native from Dominican Republic, with whom she shared scratch cards to make international calls to their respective families abroad. Gladys missed her extended family in Ecuador, in particular her grandmother, who she remembered as a mother.

Habiba (40) has lived in Reus for six years with her husband and their children, two men aged 23 and 18 and a 20-year-old daughter. Her husband had come three years before to work in Spain and then she brought the children with her. In Morocco, she owned a sewing workshop and a second-hand shop, but in Spain it had been difficult for her to get a job: first she only had a resident permit and then, when she got the working permit, she could not find any job. She would like to work as a cultural mediator, a task she did as a volunteer for some time, or as a laboratory technician, one of the specializations she acquired after taking many and diverse training courses. "I take advantage of time to study languages or take courses, even if I still don´t get a job", she said.

Juana (39) came to Spain in 1996 looking for "a change in life". She arrived in Madrid without knowing anybody and little information, but he did not stay: "I didn't like the weather in Madrid so I came to Barcelona", she laughed. At the moment of the interview, she lived with her partner and their two-year-old daughter. She also had a 14-year-old son from a previous relationship, who lived in Ecuador but visited her in Barcelona during his holidays. Despite having recently lost her job as a fruit shopkeeper after many years, she felt proud of her achievements: "I have been able to give good studies to my son, because that´s why I came for: to help my family".

Julio (20) came to Barcelona from Guayaquil, reunified by his father. "When I first arrived, I was shocked (...) everything was different". There he studied and worked, and wanted to do the same in Spain: he wanted to study informatic sciences. However, he could not get his Ecuadorian degree recognised by Spanish authorities yet, which caused him a lot of disappointment, but he looked for other opportunities. He did a carpenter course and started working in a fast food restaurant: "[I came] to excel myself, but really I´m still in the hole (...) Well, I´m thinking differently, I´m acquiring stuff from another world that didn´t exist in the other one", he said. He missed those who stayed in Ecuador: his mother, two brothers (aged 17 and 15) and a sister (13), his grandparents, his friends and his extended family.

Karen (19) was nine when she arrived in Barcelona with her sister, reunified by their parents who had come first to work. At the moment of the interview, she was in the second year of the Business Sciences career at the University and she studied German. Her Smartphone was very

[157] In Spain, ESO is the acronym for compulsory secondary education which takes four years after school.

important to get information related to her studies, and also to be in touch with friends and family scattered across borders. She had cousins, aunts and uncles in Italy, where she usually spent her holidays, and also in Germany, as well as a grandmother who lived between Ecuador and the European cities where her family has settled.

Khadija (43) is **Fatiha**'s mother and came to Spain with her six children, reunified by her husband in 2004. In all, she said she had eight children: one that had died in Morocco and two ones she had once in Catalonia. She dedicated to work in her house and look after her family. She said she enjoyed cooking and sewing. Seven years after being living in Catalonia, she found the time to take a language course: "I want to talk with my children´s teachers and with the doctor... I need to talk about many things". She didn´t have many jobs outside her house; she worked for one year wrapping fruits, "using another girls' identity card" who had a working permit.

Malika (25) was in the middle of encountered feelings about living in Spain, where she arrived four months before the interview. She came after marrying a Moroccan man, son of her father´s friend, who had lived there for eleven years. On the one hand, she liked Reus, especially the music festivals she recorded in her mobile phone camera to send by email to her sister. On the other hand, she missed her family and friends in Morocco, she felt lonely and lost about the challenges to settle in the new environment, including learning Catalan. She would like to get a job and make new friends.

Maria (30) arrived in Madrid in July 2000 to join his Ecuadorian husband, **Oscar**, who had come to Barcelona on February that year. "I didn´t have papers so I worked in houses [as a maid]. Then I got the papers and started to work in different things: in factories, as food handler, in drugstores (...) as chambermaid in hotels". His husband got a good job in Barcelona so she moved there too. At the moment of the interview they had two daughters aged two and 14 months. They were both unemployed but doing little jobs here and there and taking training courses. "More or less like most people's projects: you come to work for a few years, make some money and go back. But well, the 'few years' changed into 'lots of years' and... we are not thinking in going back [to Ecuador] And we don't know when this will happen either".

Micaela (20) was enthusiastic about the University studies in building engineering she had started just two weeks before the interview, in 2011. In 2000, her parents had migrated to Barcelona leaving her younger brother and her with their grandmother. Two years later, they reunified them. She travelled alone and remembered how the flight attendant took her by the hand and conducted her to the arrival lounge: "when the doors opened, I immediately saw my father and ran towards him, it was like in the movies, he also ran to hug me, we cried and people around us started to applaud". Now she alternated her studies with a part-time job as a shoe shop assistant. "I think I will stay... I got used to it... I have been here almost all my life".

Mohamed (37) had a very clear plan when he left his wife and two daughters in Morocco in 2003: to work and get money. He had some cousins living in Reus so he joined them. He had always worked in the construction sector and during the last three years he had to accept irregular and casual jobs in this sector. One of his last employers owed him 500 Euros and didn´t want to pay them. This situation made him very concerned, together with the lack of papers: his resident permit had expired and he couldn´t get it renewed. "I don´t like Morocco any more. I´ve been here for a long time and now I want to arrange the papers to bring my wife here".

Mustapha (39) showed proudly the hairdresser diploma he got in 1990 in Morocco, which now hangs from the hairdressing salon he runs in Reus. After finishing his studies, he "started working immediately" in his hometown, Tánger. She got married with a Moroccan woman who grew up in Reus, had the Spanish nationality and could easily reunify him. In 1997, they moved together to Almeria (Andalusia), where he opened a hairdressing salon with internet café. However, things didn´t go well and they moved to Reus three years later. Now they lived there with their 10-year-old daughter. Apart from running the hairdresser salon, he is very active in an association of Moroccan people in Catalonia, organizing sport activities and other cultural events.

Naima (22) came from an amazigh family. She was born "in Nador, a city where there are lot of Spaniards" but she came to live in Spain very young with her parents. She got married and had

three children who were four and two years old, and a one-month baby. She learnt Catalan "listening to the people" because she never went to school, except from a one-year course she took in Spain to learn how to read and write.

Nilo (43) came to Barcelona because he could stay with his sister, who was living there in a shared apartment. He remembered how strange he felt the first days, while she was out to work and he stayed in the house with unknown people. His teenage daughters lived in Ecuador and, apart from sending them money "for their studies", he visited them every two years. He said he was grateful to Spain, where he could save money working as a painter to build his house in Ecuador. "If it gets tough here, I have a place to arrive there", he said proudly.

Noelia (34) had a husband who came to Barcelona one year before her to get a better job, so she joined afterwards. She came to work but also to take the opportunity to improve her knowledge: "I studied business administration and nursery". She said it was not difficult for her to adapt to Barcelona and she felt comfortable there. After a period working as a casual house cleaner due to the lack of a working permit, she regularized her situation, got a job in a cafeteria and got very involved in the union activities. Sometimes she missed her sister and parents who stayed in Ecuador, but she tried to hold regular communications with them.

Oscar (30) had married **María** in Ecuador, where he ran a little bazaar, but when the economic crisis worsened, he left it to his parents and migrated to Barcelona. After Maria joined him, they got two daughters aged two and 14 months. He worked in the construction sector since he arrived, in 2000, until 2011, and used to get a good salary. However, he lost his job and had to live on unemployment allowances. He took training courses to work in hospitals and sometimes got little jobs as painter or repairing different things. He regretted not being able to travel regularly to Ecuador to see his ageing parents but he wanted to stay in Catalonia: "you feel that you belong here, because you have had your children here".

Pedro (57) migrated from Guayaquil to Barcelona in December 1999, seven months after his wife, and brought with him their four children aged between 10 and 22. "At that time people could enter [Spain] just like this (...) you showed some money [at the custom office] and that´s it", he said. He has worked in the construction sector all his life, alternating formal and informal jobs. He wanted to get the Spanish nationality in order to plan his retirement in Spain.

Rachida (37) arrived in Spain in 2007 with her husband and one year-old son. She had a sister already living in Barcelona, but they settled in Reus. When the family took the decision to migrate, she had a B.A. In Arab Philology and she worked in a pharmacy in Morocco. "The main reason to come [to Spain] was for my husband", she explained. "He didn´t have a permanent job... He plays basketball in a wheelchair and... in Morocco there are not many opportunities to improve his game (...) he has always wanted to come here to improve... to play in Europe". In Reus she got a part-time job as cultural mediator and she hoped to get a full time contract soon.

Roberto (45) used to have a job in Guayaquil but it was not enough to cover his family's expenses. Since the recent economic crisis in Ecuador did not offer a good perspective, they decided to try their luck in Spain. His wife had a cousin living there who arranged an invitation letter for her to travel in 2003. After four years, she could reunify Roberto and their three adolescent daughters in 2007. He worked in the informal economy of the construction sector until he got a formal work as a cook assistant. At the time of the interview, Roberto had lost his job and was in charge of the housework. He usually met other Ecuadorian men in his same situation in the park near his house: while their wives were working, they looked after the children, did the shopping, the cooking and the cleaning. After 7pm, the group of men dispersed and left the park to cook dinner, as he explained.

Sara (30) was born in the Netherlands in a Moroccan family. She finished her secondary studies in Morocco and got a job as a secretary. Then she settled in Spain after marrying a Moroccan man who was living in Reus. Her extended family is scattered between Morocco, Italy, France, Germany and the Netherlands, but most of her phone calls are to her mother in Morocco and one sister in France with whom she shared everything, even those things she did not tell her mother to avoid worrying her.

Said (20) felt proud of being Moroccan and was not planning to ask for the Spanish nationality for

that reason. He had arrived in Reus with her mother and sister, reunified by his father who has lived in Spain for ten years. At the moment of the interview, however, his mother and 14 year-old sister had come back in Morocco and that made him missed them very much. He would like to study something related to renewable energies but could not afford it: he needed a job, but he only got casual, irregular jobs repairing things and as an electrician. “If I see that in Spain the doors shut on me, I will travel to France or Morocco, maybe Marseille...”.

Wilson (40) had some friends living in Madrid before he left Guayaquil in 2001. At a time in which Ecuador was undergoing its worst economic crisis, they had told him that there were good opportunities in Spain, so he went to join them. However, he decided to try his luck in Barcelona, where his aunt was living and willing to help him to find a job. His wife stayed in Ecuador with their son, who at the moment of the interview had 10 years old. Wilson kept in touch with him through regular phone calls and started a new relationship in Barcelona. He was concerned about the current crisis in Spain and the lack of job opportunities.

Yolanda (38) was born in Quevedo, a rural location in Ecuador. She got married and had two daughters (one of them **Karen**, another of the persons interviewed for this research). In 2001, she decided to migrate with her husband to Catalonia, where her sister had settled before. They were looking for better job opportunities and had to leave the girls with their grandmother, until the family reunified in Barcelona two years later, in 2003. That year she also gave birth to her third child, a boy who at the moment of the interview was eight years old. After the hard moments lived far away of her daughters and working as a live-in house cleaner and carer in various houses, she was satisfied with her current family situation and her job as a nursing assistant.

Youssef (45) arrived in the 1990s to continue his studies in Spain. “I started working in a fruit shop, then in a hotel front desk, an internet café... and finally I became *autonomo*, as a consultant. I´m not satisfied economically but in my self-esteem”, he said. He finished two Master courses on cultural studies of the Mediterranean region and international cooperation. He started a PhD course in Sociology to study the second generation of Moroccans in Catalonia and he would like to give courses at University. He was actively involved in a Moroccan association in Catalonia and he travelled regularly to Morocco: I have almost two lives (...) one here and one there”.

List of abbreviations

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CDS	Critical Discourse Studies
CIS	Center for Sociological Research in Spain
CMC	Computer Mediated Communication
CMT	Telecommunication Market Comission
CPI	Consumer Product Index
CRS	Corporation Social Responsibility
CS	Cultural Studies
CSRs	Corporation Social Responsibility statements
DIIS	Danish Institute for International Research
DS	Discourse Studies
EU-27	European Union countries
GDP	Gross domestic Product
GLT	General Law for Telecommunications
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
ICT4D	ICT for Development
IDESCAT	Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya
IEM	Immigrants and ethnic minorities
INE	Spanish Statistical Institute
MICS	Migration industry of connectivity services
MIM	The Migration Industry and Markets for Managing Migration
MNO	Mobile Network Operators
MP	Mobile Phone
MS	Mission Statements
MT	Money Transfers
MTO	MoneyTransfer Operators
MVNO	Mobile Virtual Network Operators
NRI	Networked Readiness Index
PP	Popular Party
PR	Press Releases
PSOE	Workers´ Socialist Party
QDAS	Qualitative Data Analysis Software
SIM	Subscriber Identity Module
SMS	Short Message Service
SNS	Social Network Sites
TFS	Transnational Family Studies
TN	Translator's Note
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
US	United States
WU	Western Union